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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire

Archaeological Society

FOR 1877-8.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire

Archaeological Society

FOR 1877-8.

VOL. II.

BRISTOL:
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The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society desire that it should be distinctly understood that the Council is not responsible for any statements made, or opinions expressed, in the Transactions of the Society, the authors of the several Memoirs and Communications being alone answerable for the same."

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ERRATA. Vol. I.

Page 15, line 11, read "making known."
,, 37 ,, 6, for "this city" read "Gloucester."
,, 43 ,, 11, for "1740" read "1779."
,, 22, for "1806" read "1803."
,, 49 ,, 30, read "The name of the tribe," etc., "has."
,, 68 pedigree of Wyrall, 16th descent for "1798" read "1808."
,, 91, line 17 for "1798" read "1808"
,, 117 ., 10 for "southern" read "eastern."
,, 172 foot note for, "Raim" read "Raine."

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society,

1877-8.

PART I.

Transactions at the Annual Meeting, held at Cirencester,

ON

Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday,

The 28th, 29th, & 30th August, 1877.

This SECOND ANNUAL MEETING of the Society, at which there was a large attendance of Members, was held on the days above-mentioned under the Presidency of the Rt. Hon. EARL BATHURST, D.C.L. The arrangements were made and carried out under the direction of a local Committee appointed for the purpose, of which MR. WILFRED CRIPPS was the Hon. Secretary.

On Tuesday the Society assembled at noon at the Corn Hall, SIR WILLIAM V. GUISE, Bart., the retiring President, occupying the Chair. At the desire of the Chairman, the Honorary Secretary, MR. P. HALLETT, read the minutes of the previous General Meeting, which had been held at Cheltenham, which were unanimously confirmed, and the following modification of the Rules of the Society adopted, viz:—"That the last "clause of Rule 8 reading 'In the absence of the President "the Chair shall be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or by "some other member of the Council,' be omitted, and the following "clause substituted, 'A special Vice-President of the Society "shall be Annually Elected, under the title of 'Vice President of "the Council,' to take the place of the President in his absence.'"

SIR WILLIAM V. GUISE then rose and said:—It now becomes my duty to resign this Chair in favour of LORD BATHURST, who will be the President of the Society for the ensuing year. I was elected thereto, on the first formation of the Society, in April of last year, and I hope that it will be felt by the Society in general that, with the assistance of its very able Council and Secretary, the business has been transacted to the advantage of the Society. I may say that during the very short time in which the Society has been embodied it has obtained an increase of members which, probably, has scarcely ever have been equalled by any similar Society. The number now amounts to more than 500. The Society was founded upon a broad and popular basis. The whole of the members were made the foundation upon which the Society rests. It is necessary to get the authority of the members for any change of rules that may be required, and, in fact, such authority has just been given for the alteration of one which was found, in the working, to be a hinderance to business. Two meetings have been held within the twelve months, one at Bristol and the other at Cheltenham, both of which were fully attended. On both occasions the temporary loan museums were furnished with vast quantities of objects of interest, and although, in a pecuniary point of view, the Society did not profit by the meetings, I believe, looking at the number of members that were obtained, and the spirit of enquiry aroused, the expense they may have cost was fully compensated by the results. I have now only to resign this chair, and to make way for my successor. In this town of Cirencester no better selection could have been made than in the person of the noble lord who, so kindly, and in spite of great age, places himself at the head of the Society on this occasion (cheers). Not only on account of his own personal merits, but because the town of Cirencester is indebted to his family for the very beautiful Museum which it now possesses (loud cheers). Therefore, I am sure, with the excellent reception which I know will be accorded him by the body of members, ably assisted as he will be by the Council and the indefatigable and excellent Honorary Secretary, he will find no difficulty in working the Society during the ensuing year (loud cheers, during which SIR WILLIAM GUISE resigned his seat, and it was assumed, amid renewed cheers, by EARL BATHURST).

The President called on the Secretary to read the annual report of the Council.

MR. HALLETT read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council in submitting its Second Annual Report to the members of the "Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society" believes it may congratulate the Society on the satisfactory progress made during the year. The Society now numbers 513 members, including 501 subscribers, showing a net increase, since the meeting at Gloucester in August last, of 48 subscribers. The finances also are satisfactory. Though many subscriptions are unpaid the balance in the hands of the Treasurer, after deducting the estimated cost of the publication of the Transactions of the Society, is about £607. Of this, however, the sum of £404 consists of Life Subscriptions which the Council considers should be invested as a Funded Capital, thus leaving a credit balance of £203 in the account of Ordinary Income and Expenditure. It must, however, be borne in mind that in consequence of the much greater proportion of Entrance Fees falling into the first year the receipts for that year are specially large; but on the other hand that year's accounts are chargeable with heavy Inauguration Expenditure to which subsequent years will not be liable. On the whole the Council believes that the balance sheet is a sound and satisfactory one.

Since the highly successful Annual Meeting at Gloucester, last year, the Society has held two winter meetings, one at Bristol and the other at Cheltenham. In accordance with the Society's principle of local management, each of these meetings was organized and carried out by Committees at the places in which they were held. Both meetings were well attended, valuable papers were read at each, and very admirable temporary museums of local antiquities were opened. The meetings could not, perhaps, be expected to be pecuniarily self-supporting, but their scientific advantages to members, their importance as an instrument for exciting local interest in the work and objects of the newly formed Society, together with the considerable accession of new members obtained by these means, will, probably, be regarded as a substantial *quid pro quo* for the expenses incurred.

The subject of the formation of an Archæological Museum and Library was alluded to by several speakers at the Gloucester Meeting, but nothing thereon has, as yet, been determined upon. The Council has already made purchases of certain books, and it has to thank MR. LONG, of Wrington, MR. PLAYNE, of Nailsworth, and MR. G. T. CLARKE, of Dowlais, for the presentation of works to the Society. It has been suggested that, considering the nature of the district over which the Society ranges, it would be desirable to establish two centres for Museum and Library purposes. According to this view a centre might be formed at Gloucester for the deposit of antiquarian objects, books, &c., relating to the archæology of the upper part of the county, and another at Bristol for those relating to the archæology of that city and its neighbourhood. Such collections

would be made without prejudice to the local collections already existing, as, for example, that in the very excellent museum at Cirencester. Donors and lenders of antiquities and books would always have absolute right of selection of the place of their deposit, but the works, or specimens, which the Society might purchase, or which might be given, or entrusted to its care without express conditions, would be distributed between these centres according to their special character and interest.

One important object of the Society, mentioned in its constitution, is the preservation of ancient local monuments. With this object in view a Committee of the Society was formed at the Bristol Meeting in December last for securing, if possible, the preservation of St. Werburgh's tower. This tower is a handsome member of the Bristol group of towers of the 15th century date, which a private Act of Parliament, obtained for the so-called removal, but, in an historical sense, for the positive destruction of St. Werburgh's Church, had given the Bristol Town Council powers either to preserve or demolish as they thought fit. The Committee of this Society, in conjunction with other Committees formed at Bristol for the same purpose, received promises of subscriptions to the extent of nearly £1,000 in order to save the tower, and under the influence of their endeavours the Town Council rescinded a resolution it had previously passed for the removal of the Tower. In the delays, however, that followed, other influences prevailed. The party of destruction again gained the ascendancy, the Town Council recurred to its original position, and the tower is now apparently doomed. It is much to be lamented that so interesting and fine a monument of mediæval art and culture, with traditions extending back to the earliest periods of English history—one too that has always held a prominent position in a group of towers and spires that has made Bristol almost architecturally unique amongst cities—should be thus sacrificed to what appears little more than a narrow and short-sighted utilitarianism. It may, however, perhaps, be hoped that under the influence of the Archæological Societies of the country, utilitarianism will gradually, even though slowly, arrive at some sense of the utility of ancient monuments, whether as materials for knowledge or as examples for conduct, and that what is really a property of the ages enjoyed by millions in the past, and which with advancing education would be enjoyed by tens of millions in the future, will not be so readily given over to the destructive impulses of a passing period.

With regard to the internal constitution of the Society, there is not much to report. One change has been introduced in the establishment of the new office of Vice-President of Council, for the purpose of strengthening the continuity of the Council's deliberations. The office is annual, like all the other offices of the Society, but its holder is eligible for re-election, and the Council have much satisfaction in being permitted to propose to the Society the election of the late President, SIR WM. V. GUISE, BART., to the newly created office. The Council also submit for re-election for the next year the names of the retiring members of Council and Vice-Presidents, Secretaries—general, sectional, and local—at present in office. It has to

report the loss of the energetic services of the late Treasurer, Mr. Lang, through resignation, but in Mr. J. R. Bramble, whom the Council recommend for election to this office, it is hoped, will be found an efficient successor. The following members of Council have this year retired by lot, but are eligible for re-election:—Messrs. W. Leigh, Kerslake, Blunt, Lucy, Swayne, Gael, and G. L. Baker.

The Council has held six meetings during the year, two at Bristol, two at Gloucester, one at Cheltenham, and one at Cirencester, and it has to express its thanks to his Worship the Mayor of Gloucester, the Council of the Museum and Library of Bristol, and the Authorities of the Ladies' College at Cheltenham, for the excellent accommodation afforded to the Society at those places respectively.

Mr. J. R. Bramble then presented the Treasurer's Report, and stated that in the first year of the Society's existence 76 life subscriptions of £5 5s. each, 374 annual subscriptions, and 449 entrance fees were received. In addition, they had a donation of £4 14s. 6d. and two others of £2 2s. each. In the year upon which they are now entered he had received one life subscription, 205 annual subscriptions, three subscriptions for next year, and 18 entrance fees. After paying sundry expenses, there is a balance in the Treasurer's hands of £707 15s. 4d. The amount owing in subscriptions, &c., would just about balance the sum which would be due from the Society for the expense of printing the first year's volume of Proceedings and other expenditure that would have to be met. Another volume of Proceedings would be printed this year, and the whole of the balance could not be taken as absolutely untouched, but they would be able to invest the life subscriptions, amounting to £404 5s., and that sum, he hoped, would stand as a very good nucleus for the future.

Professor Rolleston moved "That the Report of the Council, and the Treasurer's Report be adopted, and that the Council's recommendation of Officers for the ensuing year be approved." He proposed this resolution with great pleasure. He could recollect, as many of them also could recollect, the publication of the celebrated Oxford Tracts, and the great sensation which Tract No. 90 caused, and he remembered also, most vividly, the motto of that tract, Latin words which signified "Search out the history of your ancient mother." Now, that which was the motto of the famous Oxford Tracts, might be taken as the motto of every rightly constituted Archæological Association, such as this was. Those words should now be taken hold of, as of old, and seeing the inducements held out to them for tracing back their antecedents, these words were invested with greater value and called for greater attention now than they did even from the people who first saw them on the title pages of the Tracts. He sympathised with what

the Council had said as to the local organisation, and urged them to use their organisation to bring public opinion to bear in favour of Sir John Lubbock's Bill for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments. He regretted that that measure had been shelved by the Government. He saw that the Bill was referred to a committee, and he hoped this and other local associations would bring their influence to bear, through pressure on the members of Parliament who represented them, in favour of Sir John Lubbock's Bill. This would have a great effect. If they counted their strength by the number of their votes a different state of things would be soon introduced.

MR. C. BOWLY seconded the resolution, and it was carried by acclamation.

The REV. W. DYKE, M.A., moved: "That the outgoing members of the Council be re-elected." Although he had not the pleasure of knowing all the members personally, yet he was sure they did their work so well that the meeting could not do better than entrust to them, for the ensuing year, the work which they carried on, so happily, for the year just ended.

This resolution was also seconded, and carried.

The PRESIDENT then delivered the following address:—

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Although I cannot pretend to be so well versed in Archæology as your retiring President, yet I accepted the office under the impression that in that capacity, from circumstances, I might be of some aid to this Society.

Archæology is a science which may be said to deduce history from the relics of the past. Cirencester, the Corinium of the Romans, was a place of importance in the time of Julius Cæsar. Four great roads met here: first, the Fosse, second, the Ickenwald Way, third, the Irmin Street, and fourth, the Acman Street. In addition to the roads, there are various antiquities belonging to the Roman age. There is an area called the Bull Ring, which had long been considered to be a Roman Amphitheatre, but this has lately been made a subject of doubt. They have found, and they are now finding, various relics of pottery, urns containing burnt

bones and ashes, sculptured stones and monuments, and a splendid Roman capital, which you will have an opportunity of examining to-day. There is a Museum, built by the late Lord Bathurst, in which a variety of Roman antiquities is deposited. Among the most interesting specimens which time has spared are the tesselated pavements. One is at the Barton Farm, in the vicinity, more curious than the rest from the fact that it occupies the same place in which it was originally discovered It represents Orpheus charming the birds and beasts by the harmony of his lyre. There are likewise in the Museum tesselated pavements and a large collection of coins.

Taking leave of these antiquities, which will be described in more detail by those better instructed in the matter than myself, I proceed to more modern times. Our Abbey Church occupies the first position in this town. Henry I. founded the Abbey Church, but little, if anything, remains of that structure. The present Parish Church was re-built when Hakebourne was Abbot, between the years of 1504 and 1522. An ancient Church existed before, but these matters will be so well described by one who is so learnedly versed in the subject that I shall not venture to discuss them more minutely. With regard to the history of Cirencester, I shall touch it slightly. It has the honour of being mentioned by Shakespeare; at the close of Richard II., Bolingbroke, afterwards Henry IV., says "the Rebels have consumed with fire our Town of Cicester in Glostershire." This refers to the suppression of the Rebellion raised by the Dukes of Aumerle, Surrey, and Exeter, and the Earls of Gloucester and Salisbury, in the first year of Henry IV. It was put down at Cicester. This service was performed by the Mayor and 400 of the townsmen. The sequel was that all the conspirators lost their heads, and the King, in gratitude, granted the town all the Rebels' goods, four Does out of his forest at Breadon, and one hogshead of wine out of his Port at Bristol.

In the time of the Rebellion, Prince Rupert attacked the town with two eighteen pounders, four field pieces, and one mortar. It surrendered, after a severe conflict, near the Barton, and the Governor, Col. Fettyplace, and one of the members of the borough, were taken prisoners.

But we must not trench further on modern history. I shall endeavour to give an outline of our proceedings. This day the

members, under the lead of Professor Church, will proceed to the Corinium Museum, afterwards, I hope, take luncheon at my house, and then inspect the pavement at the Barton; afterwards proceed to the remains of the ancient Town Wall. On Wednesday an excursion will be made to Chedworth Church, and likewise to what has generally been described as a splendid Roman Villa, returning by the Foss Way. On Thursday, the Society will visit the Fairford Church, and the twenty-six stained windows, which, whether the work of Albert Durer or not, are perhaps the most perfect specimens of painted glass in this country. Having, imperfectly I confess, intended to give an outline of our proceedings, I will finish by observing that although some may deem Archæology a dull and unattractive science, and it certainly cannot be compared in delight to the cheering sound of the hunter's horn or to the excitement of Newmarket race, yet it may be pursued by persons of moderate means; it adds to our store of knowledge, and, perhaps, is not followed by extravagance and ruin (cheers).

SIR BROOK KAY, Bart., proposed a vote of thanks to Earl Bathurst for his presidency at the meeting and of the Society. It was a great honour to this Society to have a nobleman like Lord Bathurst to preside over them, and on that occasion they had also to thank his Lordship for his able and interesting address on matters connected with the town of Cirencester, where they were now met. He expressed his hope and his conviction that the Society would continue to flourish in the ensuing year under the presidency of Earl Bathurst, as it had last year under the leadership of the retiring president, Sir William Guise.

MR. J. E. DORINGTON seconded the vote of thanks, and it was carried with applause.

At 1.30, the members proposed to visit the Corinium Museum and the temporary Loan Museum of the Society, but before proceeding thither PROFESSOR A. H. CHURCH, who was to act as *cicerone*, brought under notice the very great interest the President of the meeting had taken in the excavations which had recently been made in Cirencester, which, this day, would be specially brought under their observation. Yesterday, he said, a Roman coffin was disinterred, and it was opened under the superintendence of Professor Rolleston, in whose opinion the excavation had been successfully made, and this would form an interesting object for

the members' inspection. He also observed that the fragments of Roman remains found by Mr. Banks, in making excavations on his property in the New Road, disclosed the remains of a villa, the existence of which might have been before suspected, but was not established. He suggested that in the interval which would elapse between the close of the meeting and the starting of the excursion from the Corinium Museum the members might, with advantage and interest, inspect that Museum and the temporary Loan Museum, which had been opened during the meeting at the Town Hall. If, he said, the objects in these museums were inspected now, he should be able to give the members, at a subsequent period of the proceedings, an account of some recent discoveries of Roman antiquities still existing in Cirencester.

The members adopted Professor Church's advice, and, under his guidance, proceeded first to the temporary museum of the Society and inspected its contents, a catalogue of which is subjoined. They then visited the Corinium Museum, where the Professor directed their attention to the most interesting objects and described their special characteristics.

Having inspected the museum, the party proceeded, at Earl Bathurst's invitation, through the gardens, to Oakley House, where a sumptuous luncheon awaited them. Lord Bathurst was most active in entertaining his numerous guests, and all having partaken of the noble earl's hospitality, Sir William Guise, in a few well chosen words, proposed his Lordship's health. The toast was received with the greatest cordiality, and Lord Bathurst, in acknowledging the compliment, expressed the pleasure it afforded him of having the opportunity of receiving the Society.

From Oakley House, the party, after a short walk through the pleasure grounds and park, arrived at the Barton Farm. Here a mosaic pavement of great beauty was discovered as long ago as 1826, and the then Lord Bathurst caused a building to be erected over it for its protection. The building, however, was defective in drainage, and in light and air, so that the pavement suffered damage from damp and water. Professor Church stated that Lord Bathurst had given him *carte blanche* to treat the pavement as he thought best to ensure its more complete preservation, but he considered no immediate steps were necessary, as the pavement did

not appear to have sustained any further damage for some years. Many years ago, Professor Buckman, under the superintendence of the secretary of the Royal Archæological Institute, had very skilfully and successfully raised, removed, and relaid, several mosaic pavements at Cirencester, and Professor Church pointed out that an attempt had been made to remove this and relay it, but the project had been abandoned on account of the great care and labour involved in the operation. The pavement is 25 feet square, and the design is of considerable merit, representing Orpheus, in a central medallion, charming, with his lyre, the beasts which surround him in a circle. Professor Church described the special features of the design, but the pavement is so well-known that it is unnecessary to give any particular description. We may, however, observe that the central part somewhat resembles the central part of a large pavement discovered some years ago at Woodchester.[1]

CECILY HILL, PARK STREET, THOMAS STREET, AND DOLLAR STREET.

were then visited, under the guidance of the REV. E. A. FULLER, who stated that the street now called Cecily Hill was originally called Inchthrop Street, meaning, possibly, entrance to the town, it being the main entrance to the town from Stroud on the Oakley side. Later on it was called St. Cecilia Street, because of the chapel of St. Cecilia which was there situate. Hence the corruption—Cecily Hill.

The Chapel of St. Cecilia was in existence at the time of the death of Sir William Nottingham in 1483, because in his will he gave one of the torches carried at his funeral to St. Cecilia's Chapel. When Leland visited Cirencester in 1542 the ruins, only, remained. The old house now occupied as the Volunteer Armoury was, he said, formerly known as Monmouth House, from the family who lived there. In the early records this house was known as "Monmouth House, close by the common stream." The bridge here crossing the stream was the one called "St. Clement's Bridge," because somewhere near was a House of St. Clement, the Patron of the Smiths, probably in Gosditch (which included Park Street and Black Jack Street); at this house feasts were no doubt held,

[1]Archæol. Journal. Vol. vi., 326, xiii. 235, et seq.

for Hugh Norys had left a good cup to be used by the "honest men of Cirencester" taking part in such feasts. Thomas Street, he reminded them, just marked the inside of the Roman Wall. Coxwell Street, formerly Abbot Street, was so re-named from the family of the Coxwells having obtained land there. Thomas Street was formerly Battle Street, probably so called from some storming of the town by King Stephen's or some other forces. It became Thomas Street from the Hospital founded by Sir William Nottingham for the benefit of four poor weavers, who had to pray at the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the parish church. Thus the original names had been corrupted by the common usage of the people. St. Thomas's Hospital was now simply a couple of cottages. Dollar Street, and the ward called Dollar Ward, afforded another instance in which the mere common speech had altered the names. The name, properly, was "Dole Hall Street." Opening into Dollar Street were the gates forming the present entrance into the Abbey grounds, which people now alive remembered as having always been called the Almery. In all ancient deeds the street was known as "Dole Hall Street," but its transition to Dollar Street is easily understood, for at the time of the dissolution, John George, the principal officer of the town, in his official documents rendered the name "Dole Hall," while in his own Will he wrote it "Dollar." This was a corruption which Mr. Fuller would much like to see remedied, for whereas "Dole Hall" was a term of intelligent meaning, and carried the memory back to the old Saxon College of Canons, "Dollar," literally, meant nothing.

A short distance further and

GLOUCESTER STREET AND THE PAEN

were reached, and MR. FULLER first mentioned that Gloucester Street was originally St. Lawrence Street, from a hospital founded for two poor women by Lady Edith of Wiggold. He then called attention to the vestiges remaining of the semi-Norman architecture of St. John the Evangelist, the fragments of arches, &c., being pointed out and explained. Questioned as to the origin of the term "Paen," MR. FULLER confessed his inability to explain it. He then gave an account of the Hospital and the charity connected with it. Standing in the road known as Spitalgate Lane, MR. FULLER pointed out that it was just outside the Roman Wall. He described the course of the old Whiteway Road (which he believed

to be a corruption of Wigge Ham way), the direct road of communication with Winchcombe and Worcester, the seat of the diocesan. The party next proceeded to the

GROVE LANE,

where attention was drawn to the old, so-called, Saxon arch, at the entrance to the Abbey. MR. FULLER pointed out that through this arch entrance was obtained to the Abbey precincts by a road leading out into the present Whiteway, or old Wigge Ham way. The arch had been wrongly called the "Saxon arch;" it was a part of the buildings of the Abbey, begun 1117, which, in 1131, were so far advanced as to allow the first Abbot, Sirlo, to be appointed, who was consecrated in that year at Brockley Church. The buildings of the Abbey, he presumed, lay very much between the Almery Gate and the present house, the house, he thought, being very much on the site of the church. Clearly, the buildings were to the north of the church. The abbey church was about 245 feet long, and 72 feet wide across the nave and its aisles. The old Chapel of the College of Canons was allowed to stand, and to the north of that was the choir and the new Abbey Church. The cloisters were about 90 feet square. The buildings were somewhat specified in a book among the records of the Augmentation Office, but there was nothing to indicate their relative position. Still, carefully considering the ascertained dimensions, he was of opinion that the present residence was somewhere about the site of the church, and he was more inclined to that view for this reason—when Mr. Master, a few years ago, was making alterations in his house, in digging a foundation for a bow-window, the workmen came across a piece of highly ornamented groined roof, a bit of late fan tracery, and when they came to the parish church they would see a roof of exactly similar pattern in one of the chapels that certainly never was built for it. The roof in this chapel must have been part of the cloister roof of the old Abbey, and at the time of the dissolution the townsmen evidently thought it was a pity to lose all of the handsome work, and so they took as much as they could and put it in one of the chapel roofs of the present church. The piece found in digging the foundation for the bow-window by Mr. Master must have formed part of the same roof, and it was found, probably, pretty much where it fell down, *in situ*, when the Abbey was destroyed. When Camden visited the town in 1580, he spoke of the ruins of an Abbey, and when Mr.

Richard Master came here he, no doubt, occupied the Abbot's Lodging, and when he built himself a residence he used old materials. When the house was pulled down a few years ago there were found in the walls plenty of Norman ornamentation.

Sir W. V. Guise asked what the date of the arch was supposed to be?

Mr. Fuller: About 1130.

Sir W. V. Guise, from certain indications, expressed his opinion that the arch was of the 13th century, say 1220.

Mr. Niblett thought, from the different appearances noticeable at the springing of the arch on the two sides, that it was of two different dates.

Mr. Fuller also furnished other interesting notes as to the old Abbey Church which was destroyed. The nave was rebuilt between 1334 and 1352 by Abbot Hereward. At the dissolution the Abbot and Canons surrendered plate, of silver, silver-gilt, and silver-parcel-gilt, 1997 ounces. The Commissioners sold Ornaments worth £500 5s. 6d.; they reserved for the King's use two mitres garnished with silver-gilt, small pearls, and counterfeit stones; one cope of crimson velvet, with cloth of gold embroidered with the story of Jesse; also two copes of cloth of gold raised. The original College of Canons was said to be founded in Egbert's time, some time between 800 and 830. Bearing on this point was the fact, that in inrolling Henry the First's charter in their chartulary, the scribe put a side-note to the effect that the Monastery had been then founded about 300 years, which would throw it back to the time mentioned. William of Worcester gave the dimensions of the Abbey as mentioned above, he having stepped the distances on the occasion of his journey in 1460. To the south of the choir stood the very ancient chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

A little further along Grove-lane, Professor Church pointed out broken portions of the Roman Wall in the Abbey grounds, the course of the river Churn being diverted and formed outside the wall, the river being, probably, so diverted in order to further fortify the town, to which the townsmen had added a stone wall supported by an earthen bank. The Churn continued on the outer side of the right bank to Watermoor.

Progress was then made to

THE BEECHES.

where PROFESSOR CHURCH called attention to a perfect earthen bank still existing, which supported the Roman Wall, nearly in a line with those portions seen in the Abbey grounds. The Wall continued nearly straight for some distance, when it curved inwards twice, and worked round to the portions found in the Workhouse garden and to that remaining near the Railway in Sheep-street, opposite Mr. Newmarch's house. All traces of the Wall were lost when they got round to Park-street, and the neighbourhood of Oakley House. In passing along the site of the Roman Wall, PROFESSOR CHURCH drew attention to the few places in which the stones of the old wall were visible.

The REV. E. A. FULLER, continued his remarks on the changes in the nomenclature of the streets, referring to the road through the town called Lewis-lane. Some people thought this name had its origin in "Leases," others thought it came from "lhys," and that it was the site of the Roman prætorium. But the real derivation was a very simple one,—the family of Bohun were great people in Sussex, and were patrons of the Priory of Lewes. Margaret de Bohun, daughter of Milo Fitzwalter, Earl of Hereford, married Humphrey de Bohun, and on the death of her brothers, without issue, the Earldom of Hereford and Estates were carried by her to her husband. Margaret de Bohun then gave land in this part of Cirencester to Adam de Lewes, her husband's family the de Bohuns being owners of landed property in Sussex, and Patrons of Lewes Priory. Richard de Lewes succeeded his father, and the land was known as Richard de Lewes's. Then the family died out, and the land was called the Lewes, and so it was rendered in all deeds which he had found up to 1540.

Having passed the New Mills, described by MR. FULLER as being formerly known as Fulling Mill, built by Albert Blake on the site of a Roman tower, the course of the party was shaped to the New-road, the scene of

MR. BANKS'S EXCAVATIONS.

Here PROFESSOR CHURCH resumed the leadership, and pointed out the remains of the Roman Villa which Mr. Banks had discovered. One of two Roman wells found in the course of the

excavations was examined, attention being called to the fact that below the top courses of masonry, which had only just been built up, the stones of the walls were cut to the shape of the well. Professor Church regretted the building up of the wall as it spoiled its antiquity, but the lower courses of masonry remained quite *in situ*. Passing round the gardens, upon which new villas are now in course of erection, the base of a Roman pillar was pointed out, and it was explained that the large heap of stones standing upon the land had been excavated from the foundations of the walls of the Roman villa. There were only portions of the Roman villa visible. In the further garden were some very fine pieces of stone sculpture, which were very fresh, shewing the marks of the chisel used by the sculptor. Upon the whole the marks of the chisel were plainly visible, the rougher work being executed by larger chisels. The stone was of a very fine grain, and Mr. Master suggested that probably some of it came, like some of the stone with which the Church was built was said to have come, from Barnsley. Professor Church continued his explanations by saying, that the freshness of these pieces of sculpture was due to the fact, that as the buildings for which they were intended were never completed, their surfaces were not exposed to the elements. These sculptures were found underneath a very inferior pavement of late date, pointing to the conclusion that they had been used up as foundations. Two pillars lying with the works of sculpture were found in the ground together, at a point shewn in the plan of excavations in the temporary museum. To that plan he must refer them to gather an idea of the form and character of the Roman villa, which had been there disinterred. He was unable to say much about the house. A very large extent of foundations had been discovered, from which great quantities of stone had been dug. The pavements under which these sculptures were found were very rough and inferior, and it was known that while in the 1st and 2nd centuries the Romans were very careful in the construction of their pavements, in the 3rd and 4th centuries the pavements were very rough and inferior.

Sir William Guise enquired if Professor Church had any theory as to what this building was?

Professor Church said he had none.

SIR WILLIAM GUISE called attention to the fact that some of the beautiful carvings were found among the *debris* of the foundations. Now, what was the cause of the destruction of these important buildings? He had always thought that the destruction ensued in that period of Cimmerian darkness which overspread the whole country after the departure of the Romans, and no light was let in except by the few old monkish chronicles, &c., which bore upon the subject. At that time—and Froude and Freeman took this view—the Roman Briton had been undoubtedly reduced to a state of utter cowardice, and he called in the Teutons to help him against the hordes of Picts who were destroying him and his houses. Then, according to his theory, came the time that these towns were destroyed and ruinated, reduced to a condition in which pieces of sculpture were mingled up with heaps of rubbish. That was, he believed, when the destruction occurred—otherwise they had nothing to account for the destruction of such an important town as Corinium, and the finding of pieces of sculpture indiscriminately mixed with the foundations. This was no doubt a place of great importance, here were found grand cornices, fine Corinthian capitals showing that a Prætorium and other public buildings had existed, and yet the fragments of them were found levelled with the foundations. Nothing but destruction could have done it, and that destruction was, he thought, worked in the 5th and 6th centuries by the hands of the invading Saxon race.

Time would not admit of a visit to the Amphitheatre and the Querns, as arranged, and the party proceeded to the

ANCIENT PARISH CHURCH.

The REV. E. A. FULLER delivered an interesting and instructive address on the edifice, illustrated by a plan, and pointed out the most remarkable details of the architecture.

A paper on this subject will be printed hereafter.

At 6 p.m., the ANNUAL DINNER of the Society was held at the King's Head Hotel. The President, EARL BATHURST took the Chair, and there was a large attendance of members. At 8 p.m. there was a general meeting at the Corn Hall, at which EARL BATHURST again presided, when the following papers were read and discussed:—

1.—*On the Succession of Races in England, as illustrated by Burial Finds.* PROFESSOR ROLLESTON.

2.—*On the Monumental Brasses at Cirencester and in the neighbouring Churches.* REV. W. E. HADOW.

3.—*On the relation of the Town to the Manor of Cirencester.* REV. E. A. FULLER.

These papers, with the exception of the third, which will be published in another form, will be printed in the Transactions for the present year.

WEDNESDAY, 29th AUGUST.

On Wednesday, at 10 a.m., the Members started from the Market Place, in carriages, on an excursion to Chedworth, and Stowell, MR. E. C. SEWELL acting as Excursion Manager. On the road they examined the Wayside Cross of early 14th century work at Calmsden. The structure consists of four steps and a pedestal, in a socket in which is fixed a tapered octagon shaft surmounted by a cube whose sides face the four cardinal points. At the foot of the cross a beautifully clear spring of water runs into an old stone trough, and SIR WILLIAM GUISE expressed his opinion that this was a Holy Well marked by the erection of the Cross. He mentioned an incident that he was once passing through Highnam, near Gloucester, and enquiring of a woman whether the house she was living in were not formerly a wayside Chapel, she answered in the affirmative, and said there was a Holy Well also on the premises. He went and saw the spring, and the woman added that there was not an Irish labourer who passed that way who did not know of the existence of that well, and who did not cross his forehead with the water and offer his prayers there.

Thence the party drove to Chedworth, where the Parish Church was visited and its leading features explained by Mr. NIBLETT. The Church consists of Chancel, Nave, with Aisle and Western Tower. There is an exterior rood-loft stair-case, the entrance to which is walled up. The western Arch is of early Norman work

and the columns of the Arcade separating the North Aisle from the Nave are of late Norman. The windows on the south side are of late perpendicular, possibly about 1480, because the Sun, which was the badge of Edward IV., appeared on some of them. In the Chancel window the Moon is also introduced, possibly from variety. SIR WILLIAM GUISE called attention to the date on the doorway—1491. MR NIBLETT said similar dates, 1461 and 1485, appeared in three places in the Church, and they were interesting because the "4" was written like half an "8." He remarked that Arabic numerals were not introduced into this country until the middle of the 15th century, and the example in the porch was very clear and good.

The REV. H. N. ELLACOMBE suggested that the Sun and Moon in the East window were originally put over the Crucifixion, as they were often seen, and had no reference to the badge of the King.

The REV. W. DYKE also offered some observations upon the Architecture of the Church, and pointed out the remarkable vicissitudes attending the devolution of the Manor of Chedworth, to which the Church is appurtenant, following the Earldom of Warwick from Henry de Newburgh, Earl of Warwick, son of Earl Roger of Domesday, to the time of Henry VII.

A discussion then arose as to the periods to which different parts of the Church might be attributed, in which MR. MIDDLETON and MR. ELLACOMBE took part; the general opinion being that the oldest portions of the building were as early as the beginning of the 12th Century. In reference to certain Norman elements and style of the Building, SIR WM. GUISE, quoting an observation made by Professor Rolleston the previous evening to the effect that the Hills were occupied at a time when the valleys were not—the latter being all wood and swamp—remarked "That this statement was borne out by the fact "that in every Church on the Cotswold Hills they found traces of "Norman Architecture. The Hills, in early times, as now, were "great sheep walks, and they were inhabited for the facility with "which the sheep found pastures upon them when the Valleys were "uninhabitable."

Sir William Guise mentioned two old customs in the Parish which he had heard from some of the inhabitants. 1st.—That formerly a Sunday near St. Denis's day was observed as a feast, or wake, but that now it was only known by name; and he suggested that probably the dedication of the Church, of which there was not now any tradition, was in honour of that Saint. The other custom was, that on Good Fridays the inhabitants hunted Badgers, and he suggested whether this custom might not have some reference to Judas Iscariot. The last badger hunt was four years ago, and he understood that badgers were now rather difficult to find.

The party then proceeded to Chedworth Roman Villa discovered by Mr. James Farrer, about the year 1866, and standing upon the property of the Earl of Eldon, at whose cost the excavations have been carried out, the Museum formed, and the necessary protective buildings erected. The Rev. W. Dyke here acted as Guide and favoured the Company with some observations on the Villa. Mr. Niblett and the Rev. W. Wiggin also made some remarks. A question was raised as to the purpose of the Villa, some regarding it as a Roman posting-house whilst others held that the distance of the Villa from the Foss Road was too great to admit of such a purpose. The contents of the Museum being examined, the Members partook of an excellent luncheon provided by the Earl of Eldon. Earl Bathurst expressed the thanks of the Society for the facilities their host had afforded them for viewing the Roman Villa, and also for the hospitality with which he had entertained them. The party then proceeded to the Parish Church of Stowell, where the Rev. W. Wiggin, Rector of Hampnett, to which Stowell is annexed, read a short paper descriptive of the church. He considered the period of its erection as probably the 14th century, and, being in a bad state of repair, he said it would have been restored long ago by the Earl of Eldon but the commencement of the work awaited a decision as to whether or no Stowell had not better be united to Yanworth. The central tower had been removed, but there was a curious buttress against the exterior of the west wall, forming a section of three sides of an octagon terminating in a grotesque head. Sir Robert Atkyns wrote in 1712 that the north aisle (transept) had then, lately, been demolished. An entry in a new Register stood thus: "Divine Service performed at Stowell on Sunday, 6th May, 1810, after

discontinuance for nearly a century." Sir Robert Atkyns writes that Stowell was annexed to Hampnett, A. D., 1660, with the consent of the Bishop and Patron. The Right Hon. John Howe (the opponent of standing armies), was buried at Stowell, 14th June, 1722. His mother was Annabella, illegitimate daughter of Lord Scrope of Bolton, legitimised by Act of Parliament in 1663. There is no monument to him nor to Sir John Atkinson, Knt., who was buried there 3rd April, 1662.

The REV. H. N. ELLACOMBE being invited to give his opinion as to the date of the church said he never was in a church which told its own story so well, as he regarded it as a very early Cruciform Church, with only the demolished north transept missing. He considered it very early Norman work with early decorated windows inserted. The arches, the door-way, the buttress, the mouldings, all pointed to early Norman, and though a good deal of alteration had been made, he traced Norman architecture throughout. Sir William Guise entirely agreed with Mr. Ellacombe, but Mr. Wiggin dissented.

STOWELL MANOR HOUSE,

the residence of Mr. Thomas Walker, was next visited, with respect to which the REV. W. WIGGIN made the following observations. He said the house, as appeared from the arms which were placed over what was originally the centre door, was built by one of the knightly family of Atkinson. On Sir John Atkinson's death the house and property descended to William, second Earl of Strafford. The deseendants of the Earls of Strafford sold Stowell to the Right Hon. John Howe, who died in 1722. His son, John Howe, on the decease of Sir Richard Howe, of Compton, succeeded also to that estate. He was created Baron Chedworth in 1741. John Howe, fourth Baron Chedworth, died s. p. in 1804, and the title became extinct. William Scott, Lord Stowell, bought the Stowell, Compton, and Chedworth estates. He married, secondly, Louisa Catherine, *nee* Howe, relict of the first Marquis of Sligo, and perhaps his wife, being a Howe, turned his attention to the Stowell estates. Lord Stowell's son died s. p., and also his daughter, Viscountess Sidmouth, on whose death the estates descended to the Earl of Eldon's family.

Mr. S. H. GAEL read a paper on "Stowell House and Park," printed in this volume, and also mentioned some interesting incidents.

Having partaken of the hospitality kindly and courteously offered by MR. WALKER, and examined the curious features of the house, particularly some fine pieces of tapestry of great interest, the party resumed the homeward journey by the Foss Way, and reached Cirencester soon after six o'clock.

At Eight o'clock a meeting was held at the Assembly Rooms, when the following papers were read and discussed :—

1.—*On the Roman Remains recently discovered at Cirencester.*
PROFESSOR A. H. CHURCH.

2.—*On Local Names near Cirencester.*
REV. G. H. MOBERLY.

3.—*Disarmament of Suspected Persons in the County of Gloucester.* SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A.

4.—*Notes on the Ancient Church Plate belonging to the Parish of Cirencester and the neighbourhood (illustrated by Drawings and Specimens of Plate lent for the purpose).*
W. J. CRIPPS, ESQ.

5.—*On the Tyndales of Gloucestershire :* J. H. COOKE, F.S.A.

All of which, except the first, are printed in this Volume.

THURSDAY, 30th AUGUST.

THE CONCLUDING MEETING

was held in the Corn Hall on Thursday morning, under the presidency of SIR WILLIAM GUISE, when the formal and complimentary business was transacted.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the Council recommended Bristol as the place of meeting for the next year, and that the selection of President for that year might be deferred for the present and left to the inquiry and decision of the Council.

These recommendations of the Council having been approved:

The CHAIRMAN moved a vote of thanks to the noblemen, clergy, and gentry of Cirencester and neighbourhood, for the facilities which they had afforded the Society for inspection of the churches and other ancient monuments of the district, and for the hospitality with which they had received the Society.—Carried with applause.

The CHAIRMAN next proposed that the thanks of the Society be accorded to Professor Church, Mr. Niblett, the Rev. E. A. Fuller, the Rev. W. Wiggin, the Rev. W. Dyke, and the Rev. J. G. Joyce, for the valuable services rendered by them as guides to the excursions.—Carried unanimously.

MR. FULLER having returned thanks:

SIR WILLIAM GUISE proposed, in highly eulogistic terms, that the thanks of the Society be given to the Local Committee and to the Local Secretary, Mr. Wilfred Cripps, for their most important services in the general conduct and management of the meeting.—Carried unanimously,

MR. CRIPPS suitably replied, acknowledging the able assistance he had received from Mr. E. C. Sewell.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. E. C. Sewell for his efficient work as excursion manager, and for his active services in carrying out the details of the meeting.—Carried unanimously.

MR. SEWELL replied, and

SIR WILLIAM GUISE proposed a vote of thanks to Earl Bathurst for his efficient services and his attention to the Society during the visit to Cirencester. Sir William supplemented this with a few cordial words, and the vote of thanks was carried with cheers.

The meeting concluded with votes of thanks to Sir William Guise, proposed by the REV. E. A. FULLER, and suitably acknowledged by the Chairman; to Mr. Hallett, the general secretary and to Mr. Bramble, the general treasurer.

An excursion was then formed to Ampney, Fairford, and Bibury, in which a large number of members took part.

The first halt was made at Ampney Crucis, where the members at once proceeded to the churchyard, to inspect the now restored ancient "Cross of Ampney Holy Rood," and some remarks were made upon it by several of the archæologists present.

AMPNEY CRUCIS CHURCH.

was then carefully examined. Sir William Guise pointed out that it was of transition Norman architecture, and was, probably, originally built about 1200, its transepts being of a later period, the doorway not being of a Norman character. He also called attention to the remains of colour on the wall pieces and trusses, to the rude and early font, and to the little window near, which was clearly Norman. A recess in the porch attracted attention, which it was thought had at one time been used as an almonry. The perpendicular tower showed evidences of a curious architectural contrivance, part of the early buttresses being worked in. A very early Norman doorway is now walled up.

Having, upon the introduction of Sir William Guise, inspected an old chimney-piece in the drawing-room of Ampney House, of extraordinary carving of the Elizabethan period, the party then proceeded to Fairford. It was intended to have called at Ranbury Camp, but time would not permit of a halt at that place, and about half-past twelve the party reached

FAIRFORD.

Having lunched at the Bull Hotel, the party adjourned to the church for the purpose of seeing the far-famed windows, where they were met by the Rev. J. G. Joyce, Rector of Strathfieldsaye, under whose efficient guidance these splendid relics of mediæval art were examined. Mr. Joyce then read a most interesting and valuable paper, pointing out the subjects of the several windows, which is printed in this volume. Earl Bathurst, on behalf of the Society, thanked Mr. Joyce for the trouble he had so kindly taken to make the company understand the subjects of the windows, and for the instruction and pleasure he had given them. Mr. Joyce having expressed his acknowledgments, a paper was read by Mr. Powell, who, having referred to the date of the erection of the church, passed on to a comparison of the glass of the Fairford windows with those of Cologne and Nuremberg, contending that,

from the similarity of the figures, the subjects, the drapery, and many other minute details in the windows of Fairford and Cologne, the work was, presumably, from the same hand.

The homeward journey embraced a passing visit to Quenington Church, upon the most interesting features of which, especially the North and South Porches, remarks were submitted to the Society by MR. NIBLETT, who took occasion to notice the better preservation in which the architectural features on the north side of Gloucestershire churches is wont to be found than the south, owing to the less searching force on that side of the sun and stormy winds, the latter usually coming from a south-westerly direction.

Another stage brought the Society to that very fine specimen of a Cotswold Manor House,

BIBURY COURT,

now in the occupation of Captain Maunsell Williams, by whom, and Mrs. Williams, the party were most hospitably received. The inspection of Bibury Court and Church brought the second day's excusion of the Gloucestershire Archæological Society, and in fact its meeting of 1877, to as pleasant a termination as the Society can hope to meet with in many future years.

THE TEMPORARY LOAN MUSEUM.

Among the numerous objects of antiquity exhibited were the following, obligingly lent for the occasion by the persons named :—

Engraving of Sir Thomas Harrison, Knt., Chamberlain of London, died 1765, and buried in the chancel of Cirencester Church ; son of the Rev. Joseph Harrison, M.A., 63 years vicar of Cirencester. Coins found at Bibury ; collection of flint arrow-heads, found at Lower Swell, Gloucestershire; sword, found with several others, beneath the surface of the camp at Burton-on-the-Water ; by Mr. E. C. Sewell. Roman keys, from Corinium, and metal crucifix, found in the Abbey grounds ; by Professor Buckman. Collection of flint arrow-heads and implements, found on the Cotswolds ; spear-head and knife, found with skeleton, of Saxon date, at Long Barrow, Upper Swell ; small buckle and long Saxon spear head, found by the side of the Foss Way on the north side of Stow-on-the-Wold, by the Rev. D. Royce. A large collection of Roman fragments found in Cirencester, by Mr. W. H. Banks. Collection of objects, by the Rev. T. H. Lee-

Warner, of Rodmarton, including ring, hatchet, and horseshoe, found about seven feet below the surface, at Rodmarton, in July, 1877; spoon and knife, found at Gloucester, several feet below the surface, in 1872. Collection of objects, by the Rev. T. Daubeny, of Ampney St. Peter, including dagger, dug up in a copse at Ampney St. Peter; oval piece of lead, found in the garden at Poulton Vicarage, with some human bones beneath it, about two feet below the surface; part of the bowl of a tobacco pipe, found near the same spot; Roman pottery found in digging out the foundation of Poulton church; and six coins found at Poulton. Collection of objects, by Professor Church, including grotesque masks, of mediæval Bristol pottery; three tobacco pipes, 17th century, found at Cirencester and Gloucester; various objects of Roman origin found at Cirencester; ditto, found at Gloucester; five nut crackers, one found at Thornbury Castle, and the others purchased in cottages about Stroud, Bath, and Bristol; armorial badge of brass, once enamelled, found August, 1869, in the West Market-place, Cirencester; tile from Thornbury Castle; fragments of a vase found in a barrow between Brimpsfield and Minchinhampton; tile from Minchinhampton Church; ditto, from Cirencester Abbey; mediæval jug, Grey Friars, Bristol; a mazer bowl, English work, early 16th century; bronze Roman statuette, from Kingsholme, Gloucester; a large collection of interesting Roman coins, from Cirencester and neighbourhood. Vase, found near Westbury, Wilts, in 1863, with other Roman pottery. Collection of Roman objects by Professor T. W. Mayer, F.R.C.V.S. Last century tongs, for lighting purposes, by Mr. Horton. Enamelled Roman brooch, and a coin of Carausius, with a Roman galley on the reverse, by Mr. C. Bowly. Two silver apostle spoons, one dated 1529, and the other 1532, both by the same maker, by Mr. J. C. Cooke. A ring presented by Charles I. to Colonel Yate, of Arlingham, one of the Gloucestershire Royalists, by Mr. J. D. T. Niblett. A seal, supposed to be that of the Mayor of the Staple of Cirencester, which has been presented to the Society by Mr. Richard Mullings, was also exhibited. A silver implement, undoubtedly Roman, supposed to be a stilus and eraser for writing on wax, which was found at the New Road, Cirencester, by the Rev. J. Constable. Collection of objects by Mr. Butler. A number of Oriental letters, by Earl Bathurst. Jugs, lent by Professor Buckman. Fragments of large Roman vessel, and part of Roman vase, recently found, by Mr. W. H.

Banks, at Cirencester. Bristol glass of the 18th century, by Mr. Zachary. Mr. Wilfred Cripps showed a number of pencil sketches of various parts of Cirencester, as it was fifty years ago, beautifully sketched by his uncle, the Ven. Archdeacon Harrison. The views were exceedingly interesting, and included "Site of the present Police Station," "Black Jack Street and Silver Street," "Market Place," "Site of the present Corinium Museum," "Corner of Sheep Street, now the site of the G.W.R. Station yard." and "Cecily Hill." Professor Church lent a water-colour drawing of Cirencester Church and Market Place, signed J. Burdon, and dated 1815. He also contributed some engravings of the 18th century, being portraits of members of the Bathurst family. A handsome pulpit-cloth made from a cope of the 15th century, lent by the Vicar and Churchwardens of Cirencester. A fine collection of church plate included the following: plain communion flagon, engraved with the arms of Atkyns impaling Carteret, given by Lady Atkyns to Coates Church, date 1716; paten, engraved with arms of Atkyns impaling Carteret, on a lozenge, date 1715, lent by the Rector and Churchwardens of Coates. Communion cup and cover forming paten, pattern introduced 1562, date 1574, by the Vicar and Churchwardens of Preston. Communion cup, early 18th century, date 1716, lent by the Rector and Churchwardens of Coates; specimen of earliest form of post-Reformation communion cup, date 1570; communion flagon, pattern introduced temp. Eliz., cup with cover, surmounted by falcon and sceptre, the badge of the Boleyns, part of the Cirencester Church communion plate, date 1535, by the Vicar and Churchwardens of Cirencester. The Rev. E. A. Fuller exhibited a plate in Britton's Chronological History of English Architecture of the Church of St. Cross, Hampshire, illustrating the date of the chancel of Cirencester Church, the pillar on the north side being similar in character to the one shown. Other plates connected with the church were also shown by Mr. Fuller. Drawing of Samian and other ware and ornaments, found at Bourton, together with other antiquities, by Mr. J. Moore, of Bourton-on-the-Water. A number of old views of Cirencester Church, and a good collection of photographic views of Cirencester and neighbourhood, by Mr. W. H. Money, &c., &c.

BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Dr. ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING 22ND APRIL, 1877. Cr.

	£	s.	d.
To 76 Life Subscriptions	399	0	0
,, 375 Annual Subscriptions	196	17	6
,, 450 Entrance Fees	236	5	0
,, 1 Donation	4	14	6
,, 2 Donations, at £2 2 0	4	4	0
	£841	1	0

	£	s.	d.
By Preliminary Expenses in forming the Society	118	11	4
,, Expenses at Gloucester Congress, less receipts, 1876	10	19	6
,, Expenses at Meeting at Bristol, Dec., 1876 ...	23	9	5
,, ,, Conversazione at Cheltenham, April, 1877	29	15	2
,, Printing Transactions for the year	112	14	9
,, Miscellaneous Printing and Stationery ...	35	1	2
,, Advertisements	5	5	6
,, Clerical Assistance	18	4	1
,, Donation to Bristol Museum and Library, for use of rooms	13	13	0
,, Petty Expenses—Honorary Secretary 9 6 0			
,, ,, ,, Treasurer 7 0 0	16	6	0
,, Life Subscriptions, on Deposit, waiting investment	399	0	0
,, Available Balance, carried to next year's account	58	1	1
	£841	1	0

Examined and found correct—JOHN MACLEAN, ROBERT LANG, } *Auditors.*

THE TYNDALES IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

BY

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Read at Cirencester, 29th August, 1877.

The family of Tyndale is of considerable antiquity in the Hundred of Berkeley, and the name is of frequent occurrence in the Court Rolls and other official documents of the manors of Hurst, Cam, Stinchcombe, and Wotton Foreign. The pedigree has been closely and carefully worked out by Mr. B. W. Greenfield, and it is from the notes which he has kindly placed in my hands,[1] supplemented and confirmed by ancient documents in Berkeley Castle, that the following narrative has been compiled. The subject derives most of its interest from its connection with that illustrious member of the family to whom, more than to any other individual, we owe the inestimable blessing of the Holy Scriptures in our own tongue; we have also in the story of the Tyndale family a picture of the rise and progress of an English yeoman family during more than three hundred years, with incidental glimpses into the domestic life and habits of a bye-gone age, which are both curious and instructive.

Though the Tyndales at various periods inherited and held property in several adjoining parishes, their family home and seat throughout their Gloucestershire history was at Stinchcombe; and surely the lines had here fallen to them in goodly places. Nestling, as it were, in its deep lanes, just under the western brow of Stinchcombe Hill, between high banks covered with

[1] Since published in the Genealogist. Vol. 2. 1877.

ferns, and shaded by immemorial elms and beeches, a more lovely secluded village does not exist in broad England. Happily situated on that middle step between hill and vale, to which Smyth, the Berkeley historian, justly attributes both health and wealth,[1] Stinchcombe merits to the full the praise which he bestows on its similarly placed neighbour village, and his home, Nibley, "Not more pleasantly seated on a comely hill than healthfull, than which none in the county or scarce in the kingdom standeth in a sweeter aire"

Stinchcombe and the adjoining manor of Breadstone were held under the Berkeleys for many generations down to the end of the reign of Edward III. by the family of De Bradston. "A succession," says Smyth, in the work already quoted, "of remarkable gentlemen, homagers and servants to the family of the Lord Berkeleys of Berkeley Castle, as a world of deeds and other evidences which I have seen doe testifye;" the most eminent of whom was Thomas de Bradston, created by Edward III. for his military and other services a Banneret,[2] and afterwards summoned to Parliament as a Baron by writ,[3] and whose life, as an eminent but almost unknown or forgotten Gloucestershire worthy, well deserves to be written. [4] The elder male line of the De Bradstons became extinct in the person of his grandson, who died in 1375, leaving only a daughter and heiress, married to Walter de la Pole, from whom the two

[1] "In the body of this Hundred are observed three steps or degrees, obvious to every observer: the first from the channell of Severne, halfway towards the hills, which hath wealth without health; the seconde from thence neere towards the tops of those hills, which hath wealth and health; and the third steppe or degree from thence forward, called the weald or cotsall part, affordeth health in that sharp aire but less wealth."—*MS. description of the Hundred of Berkeley.*

[2] Rot. Claus. 15 Edward III., m. 11.

[3] Rot. Parl. 21 Edward III. and subsequently.

[4] It is to him that Gloucester owed her mediæval walls, which were built about 1360 while he was governor of the Castle there, and pulled down by order of Charles II. after the Restoration.

manors passed successively by the marriages of heiresses into the families of Ingaldesthorpe, Nevill, Stonor, Fortescue, and Wentworth. In 1539 Sir Adrian Fortescue, lord of the manors of Stinchcombe and Bradston in right of his first wife, Anne, daughter of Sir William Stonor, being suspected by Henry VIII. of traitorous correspondence with Cardinal Pole and other of the king's enemies abroad, was attainted, together with several other persons of rank, and beheaded on 10th July. The Crown seized upon all his possessions, including his title deeds and other records, but these two manors being the inheritance of his wife were not subject to forfeiture and descended to her eldest daughter, married to Thomas, first Lord Wentworth, of Nettlested. The Crown, however, retained the documents relating to them, which are now in the Public Record Office, and it is in these papers, which consist of original deeds, bailiffs' accounts, and court rolls of the manors, and in other public documents, wills, and old title-deeds, that Mr. Greenfield has found the record of most of the facts upon which the following narrative is founded.

In 1478 we find the first mention in Stinchcombe of the Tyndales, who were at that time more generally known by the name of Huchyns. From a letter written in 1663 by Thomas Tyndale, of Kingston St Michael, to his cousin, Thomas Tyndale, of Stinchcombe, which is given at length by Rudder in his account of Eastwood, near Thornbury, it seems to have been a tradition in the family that this name was assumed by the first Tyndale who came into Gloucestershire from the north, a fugitive, during the wars of the Roses. This is by no means improbable, though there is no documentary confirmation of the story. Mr. Greenfield thinks the alias may have originated, at a time when no very strict rule prevailed as to family names, in a marriage, the first descendants of which for a generation or two may have preferred for some reason, many of which may be imagined during those disturbed times, to be known by the name of their mother's family. The name of Huchyns was a

common one in the county long before this time, but the name of Tyndale does not appear until 1478, from which date it was used by the family, with Huchyns (spelt in several different ways) as an *alias*, down to about 1520, when the latter name was finally dropped.

In 1478 then, we find, living and holding lands in Stinchcombe, two distinct households or families both bearing the name of Huchyns, both, a few years after, using the name of Tyndale together with that of Huchyns, and both subsequently known by the name of Tyndale only. We may, therefore, fairly assume that they had a common origin, though the connection does not otherwise appear. One of these households was seated, as tenant farmers, at Melksham Court, which was afterwards purchased by and became the only residence of the family in Stinchcombe, and the other in a part of the parish called Southend; which name is now, however, entirely unknown. As this Southend branch of the Tyndales became extinct about a century afterwards, when their lands were sold by the co-heiresses to the other or Melksham Court branch, it will perhaps be more convenient if we trace their fortunes to the end before touching upon those of the Melksham Court family.

In 1478 Richard Hochyns held, by copy of court roll of the manor of Stinchcombe, a messuage and seven acres of land, late Matthews's, with a close and two acres adjoining, at an annual rent of eleven shillings. He also held by copy of court roll, in conjunction with three other persons, a parcel of wood and underwood in the same manor, called Lidiscliff (afterwards known as Lymclyffe, Lynclyff, and Inclyff), at an annual rent of two shillings. In 1485 his name appears as one of the "Afferers" (or official referees or valuers of the fines and amerciaments imposed) at a Manor Court held at Stinchcombe on the 18th October. In the same year he succeeded, on the death of Richard Clavild, to an estate consisting of four messuages and ninety acres of land in the manor of Hurst in the

neighbouring parish of Slimbridge. This was a portion of an estate called Kingston's, and subsequently Rivers's, lands, from the families who had held it under the Berkeleys since 1312, and Richard Tyndale (or Hochyns) inherited it under an entail as the representative of Jone, the wife first of John Archer and secondly of Robert Taylor, who died in 1421, and who was one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Richard Rivers. Richard Tyndale died in 1506, leaving a son, John Tyndale, alias Huchyns, who inherited the copyhold lands and tenements in Stinchcombe and the lands in Hurst, and a daughter Katherine. Katherine Tyndale, in conjunction with her brother John, took, at a court held for the Manor of Stinchcombe on 2nd August, 1507, a copyhold grant for their own lives and that of the survivor, of the moiety of the wood called Lynclyffe, formerly Lidisclyffe, at a yearly rent of twelve pence, and one penny annually for Peter's pence, and she also held lands as a customary tenant in the Chapelry of Bradeston, under Sir Adrian Fortescue. She died unmarried in 1547, and in her will, which was proved at Gloucester on the 13th July in that year, she leaves a cow each to Thomas, son of Richard Nye, and to John, son of William Nye, appointing the said William Nye her sole executor and residuary legatee. John Tyndale, alias Huchyns, inherited his father's lands, as has been stated, and his name appears in various court rolls as tenant of the copyholds in Stinchcombe down to 1515, when, at a court held on 16th April his death is presented, on which there ensued to the lord of the manor a Heriot, viz., an ox, value ten shillings. His widow, Alice, was thereupon admitted tenant of the Stinchcombe copyholds. Some time afterwards she married John Fynamore, of Cam, as it appears that on the 22nd October, 1522, he took from the Crown (then in possession of all the Berkeley manors under the demise of William, Marquis of Berkeley) a lease of a water corn-mill, called Corriett's Mill, in the manor of Cam, for the lives of himself, Alice his wife, late the wife of John Tyndale, John and Thomas Fynamore, his sons, by Agnes, his former wife, and William Fynamore, his son by

Alice, his then wife, and the longest liver of them. His name appears in the court rolls of Stinchcombe in right of his wife until 1530, soon after which he died. Alice survived him, and in 1532 surrendered the lease for lives and took instead thereof a new lease for twenty-one years of the same mill and premises, to which a "gigge-mill[1] and a fulling mill" had been then added. These erections mark the introduction of the cloth manufacture, which soon became, and continued until the beginning of the present century to be, the staple industry of the neighbourhood. She died about 1535. Richard Tyndale, her son by her first husband, John Tyndale, alias Huchyns (the alias or second name is now dropped), had succeeded on the death of his father to Rivers's lands in Hurst, which were, down to 1539, in the occupation of Richard Gylmyn, and he now inherited the copyholds in Stinchcombe. On 30th June, 1542, he took a new lease for twenty-one years of Corriett's Mill, with the gigge mill and fulling mill and three parcels of pasture land, at an increased rent. In the lay subsidy roll for the Hundred of Berkeley he is, in 1546, assessed in the sum of 20d., being at the rate of 4d. in the £ on his lands in Stinchcombe, valued at £5, and he is there, as well as elsewhere subsequently, called "junior," to distinguish him from Richard Tyndale, of Melksham Court, who is called "senior." In 1547 he commenced his purchases of land, to which the profits of the mill at Cam and the rents of Rivers's lands no doubt contributed, by acquiring from William Fraunsome and Johane his wife, all their right in a cottage and garden with twenty acres of land in Stinchcombe for the sum of £4. In 1557 he purchased from Robert Dorney all his right in the moiety of a messuage and sixteen acres, also in Stinchcombe, for £20.

By an indenture of bargain and sale dated 1st September, 1561, Thomas, second Lord Wentworth, then lord of the manors of Stinchcombe and Bradeston, sold to John Trotman, William

[1] This is a machine for forming the nap on cloth.

Bourcher, and William Nelme, the greater part of his lands and tenements in Berkeley, Bradestone, Cam, Stinchcombe, and Slimbridge, free from all incumbrances save and except the rents and services due to the chief lord of the fee or fees. Amongst these are included the messuage and lands in Stinchcombe which Richard Tyndale, the "younger," held of Lord Wentworth as copyhold or customary tenant of that manor, and which are described as "One messuage, one garden, one orchard and lands thereto belonging, one close of meadow called 'Hooke, alias Hooke-wood,' a wood called 'Inclyffe Wood,' a wood called 'Bow Grove,' a grove of Wood called 'Ridinge Grove,' and two acres of meadow lying in Bury-felde called 'the Splatts.'" Trotman, Bourcher, and Nelme soon afterwards re-sold most of their purchase to various persons, and it appears that, amongst others, Richard Tyndale, junior, purchased the fee of his copyhold and other lands, as, in the Inquisition, taken in 1588 after his death, it is found that he died seized in fee of (*inter alia*) a messuage and sixty nine acres of land which were lately purchased of Lord Wentworth.

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In 1565 a fine was levied between Richard Tyndale, Querent, and William Potoner, gent., and Edith, his wife, Deforciants, by which, in consideration of £200 sterling, the Potoners remit and quit claim to the said Richard sundry lands, messuages, rents, and other property in Slimbridge and Stinchcombe. In the absence of other documents Mr. Greenfield supposes that this fine included the whole of his landed estate, and was levied to put him into legal possession of his property as tenant for life, with remainder to his heirs, in consequence of some previous deed of conveyance to the Potoners by way of settlement on his marriage with their daughter. He died 10th September, 1573, leaving an eldest child, Edith, whom he disinherited by his will, and a second daughter, Katherine, then a year old. Shortly after his death a third daughter, Alice, was born, and she, with her sister Katherine, inherited the whole of his estate. What poor Edith Tyndale's sin was need not be inquired into, but she bitterly

expiated it by the forfeiture of her father's affection, enduring even after death, and being left, probably, entirely dependent on her sisters. "*I wille,*" he says, "*that my daughter Edythe shall not have any part of my lands, goods, or chattels, because of her mysdemeanour towards me.*" She died unmarried before 1588. Katherine and Alice Tyndale, the heiresses, married two brothers: Katherine, Robert, the eldest son and heir, and Alice Thomas, the third son, of Peter Ashton, Esquire, of Old Weston, Co. Huntingdon, and they, with their husbands, soon after sold the whole of their father's estate in Stinchcombe and Hurst to various persons; Richard Tyndale, of Melksham Court, purchasing the greater part of the lands in Stinchcombe in 1591. This closes the history of the Southend branch of the Tyndales in Stinchcombe.

The Melksham Court branch began, like that of Southend, under the name of Huchyns. In 1478 Tebeta[1] Huchyns held, as a free tenant within the manor of Stinchcombe, with two other persons, one messuage and half a virgate of land (about 20 acres), with a wood, at a yearly rent of thirteen shillings and fourpence, and she also held, as farmer of the lord's demesne lands, "the manor, with the meadows, pastures, and appurtenances thereto belonging, called Le Milsh'ms Courte," also in Stinchcombe at an annual rent of £4 13s. 4d.

Melksham Court, which gave its name to an ancient family who held it in the reigns of Edward I. and Edward III.,[2] is described by Smyth as an ancient messuage with a carucate of land (about 100 acres, temp. Edward II., or as much as could be tilled with one

[1] Tibota, the wife of William Nelme and grandaughter of John de Draicote in the adjoining parish of Cam, who lived temp. Edward III., is the only other instance I have met with of this name; spelled also Tebota and Tebet.

[2] Rot. Redisseisin., 27 to 35, Edw. I., membr. 5, and in 31, Edw. I., in the Tower of London, now in the Public Record Office, shews that Richard *de* Melksham recovered a messuage and a carucate of land in Stintescombe of Richard Astmeade, who again disseised him, and therefore a writ now went out to the Sheriff of this county to arrest and imprison the said Richard Astmeade.—*Smyth's MS. Description of the Hundred of Berkeley, p.* 349.

plough in a year and a day, a "plough-land"), held of the Berkeleys as of their manor of Cam, by fealty, suit at the Hundred Court, and the rent of a pair of gloves or one penny, which is still paid. Though situated wholly within the parish of Stinchcombe, it was no part of the manor of that name, the inheritance of the De Bradstons, but was purchased of Robert Oulpenne by Walter de la Pole and Elizabeth, his wife, daughter and heiress of Thomas de Bradston, in 1413. The present house, a picturesque gabled farm house of the style usually denominated Elizabethan, was most probably built by Richard Tyndale after his purchase of the estate from Lord Wentworth in 1561.

In 1485 Tebeta or Tebota Huchyns, the tenant of Melksham Court, was presented at a Manor Court held at Stinchcombe on the 18th October for leaving her dove-cote and cow-house in a ruinous state, and she was ordered to repair them before the next court under a penalty. No record appears of her death, but she was succeeded as tenant of Melksham Court soon after this date, by Richard Tyndale, whose name appears in a rental of the lord's demesne lands in Stinchcombe in 1478 as the tenant of a croft called Holder's Croft at the annual rent of four shillings and fourpence. As he is there called Richard Tyndale only, without the name of Huchyns, it is probable that he was the first who assumed (or re-assumed) the name of Tyndale. As "Richard Hewchyns de Stinchcom," he is in 1492 one of eight collectors of a subsidy granted by Parliament in that year, named in a writ under the Great Seal dated 22nd February, 7th Henry VII., (1492-3). In what relationship this Richard stood to Tebota Huchyns there is no evidence to show, but their names, and the fact that their respective tenements were, after the death of Tebota Huchyns, both held by Richard Tyndale, and continued ever after to be held together by his descendants, seem to prove some degree of consanguinity, perhaps that of mother and son.

There is no record of Richard Tyndale's death, but in 1506-7 his sons, Thomas Tyndale, "alias Huchyns," and his brother William Tyndale, were the joint tenants by indenture of lease in

succession to their father, of Melksham Court and Holder's Croft, at the joint rent of £4 17s. 8d. William Tyndale, the younger brother, entered into Holy Orders, probably about 1511, as in that year a new lease of the same premises was granted to Thomas Tyndale only. In 1518 William Tyndale, "Chaplain," with James Clyfford and Thomas Haynes, of Frampton-on-Severn, became joint lessees of the great tythes and other dues and emoluments belonging to the rectory of that parish, under an indenture of lease from the Priory of the Blessed Mary of Clifford, in Herefordshire, the appropriators of that benefice. About the same time he was instituted to the Perpetual Chantry or Free Chapel of St. Michael of Bradeston, in the parish of Berkeley, on the presentation of Sir Adrian Fortescue, the patron thereof. He died about the end of 1523, as in the following February Nicholas Astley was instituted to the same benefice, then stated to be vacant by his death. Thomas Tyndale, his elder brother, continued tenant of Melksham Court and Holder's Croft and of other lands in Stinchcombe, and his name frequently appears in the rentals and other evidences of the manor until 1535. He married Alice Hunt, of Hunt's Court, in the adjoining parish of North Nibley, the heiress of an ancient family of that name, who had held that estate, described as an ancient messuage with fifty-eight acres of land, under the Berkeleys, by the tenth part of a knight's fee, suit to the Hundred Court, and the annual rent of fifteen shillings, since the beginning of the reign of Edward I. Mr. Greenfield's evidences relating to Hunt's Court extend back to 1424, when John Hunte executed what appears to be a settlement of his estate, of which Robert Stanshaw and John Skey are the trustees. In 1473, John Hunt, of Nybley, is one of a jury of ten clerics and ten laymen impannelled under a commission of enquiry from the Bishop of Worcester, held in the church of Wotton-under-Edge, to try a question of the right of presentation to that rectory. In a deed of entail, executed by Alice Tyndale in her widowhood, dated 20th January, 33 Henry VIII., (1541-2) in which she entails the estate of Hunt's Court on her

five sons and their heirs in succession, she is described as "sister and sole heire of Thomas Hunt, deceased, cousin and heire of John Hunte, deceased." One of the feoffees in this deed of entail is Edward Tyndale, of the manor of Hurst in Slimbridge, and of Pull Court, Worcestershire (of whom more hereafter), and he is also one of the witnesses of her last will, dated 3rd February, 1543.

By her husband, Thomas Tyndale, Alice had five sons, Richard, Henry, William, Thomas, and John, and two daughters, Joan and Agnes. Richard, the eldest son, succeeded to the tenancy of Melksham Court and the lands in Stinchcombe, and to the freehold of Hunt's Court, his mother's family inheritance in Nibley. Henry resided in Stinchcombe until 1543, after which he appears to have removed to Uley. William is named one of the valuers of his mother's household effects in her will; he resided at Nibley, probably at Hunt's Court, as he is assessed to the subsidy of 1543 on goods in that parish of the value of £4. Thomas, the fourth son, resided at Stinchcombe, and is most probably the Thomas Tyndale of that parish, "broad-weaver," who made his will dated 7th February, 1595-6, which was proved at Gloucester, 16th October following. John Tyndale, the fifth son, is not named in his mother's will, though he is included in the entail of Hunt's Court; a provision for his maintenance at Stinchcombe is made in the will of his eldest brother Richard, dated 17th August, 1577. The two daughters, Joan and Agnes, are legatees in their mother's will, and the latter married Richard Nelme, of Stancombe.

Richard Tyndale succeeded, as stated above, to the leasehold interest in Melksham Court and Holder's Croft, and soon after took from Lord Wentworth a new lease of the premises for the lives of himself, Elizabeth, his wife, and Anne, their daughter, and the survivor of them. In 1561, as has already been stated in the account of the Tyndales of Southend, Lord Wentworth sold the greater part of his estates to Trotman, Bourcher and Nelme. On the 3rd October in the same year he

conveyed to Richard Tyndale the fee simple and reversion of Melksham Court and the other lands in Stinchcombe, which he already held by lease, for £308. In this deed he is described as "Richard Tyndale the elder, of Stynchcombe in the county of Gloucester, Gentleman;" Richard Tyndale of Southend being called the younger or junior. In 1568 he barred the entail of the Hunt's Court estate created by his mother's deed of 1541-2, already referred to, converting his tenure therein into an estate in fee simple, and the property descended under his will to his only son Richard as freehold. In his last will, dated 17th August, 1577, proved 19th October following, he desires that his body may be buried in the chancel of Stinchcombe Church; he bequeaths half the farm called Melksham Court to his wife for her life, with remainder to his son Richard, to whom he leaves the other half. He provides maintenance at Melksham Court for his brother John, gives legacies of £5 each to four grandaughters, and a heifer to his grandson, Morys Mallet, leaving the residue of his goods to his widow and son, whom he appoints executors. Elizabeth, his widow, survived till 1609. In her will, proved 1st April in that year, she gives a number of small pecuniary legacies to grandchildren, including one of forty shillings to a grandaughter, Israell Purnell.

Richard Tyndale, their only son, inherited both Melksham Court and Hunt's Court after the death of his parents, and on 10th May, 1591, he purchased of Katherine and Alice, the co-heiresses of Richard Tyndale of Southend, and their husbands, the two brothers Ashton, all their estate and interest in fifty-three acres of land in Stinchcombe, being the greater part of the inheritance in that parish of the Southend family. In or previous to 1609, he granted a lease of Hunt's Court to his second son, Richard, for his life. In his last will, dated 4th April, 1616, he gives to his son, Thomas Tyndale, most of his household goods, including a silver tankard and a walnut-tree standing-bedstead. To his fourth son, Arthur, he bequeaths "the £100 which is in Mr. Hugh Perrie's hands, if he shall

outlive the time of his apprenticeship." Hugh Perrie was an Alderman of London, and founder (in 1638) of the hospital or almshouse at Wotton-under-Edge, of which town he was a native. Among the legacies to his other children are £100 to each of his daughters, Katherine and Oriana, payable at twenty-two years of age or marriage; the latter, baptised at Stinchcombe, 2nd March, 1605-6, was probably so named after Oriana le Bon, daughter of the Sieur le Bon, of Fourneaux, near Elbœuf, in Normandy, who was the wife of Thomas Tyndale, of Eastwood Park, Thornbury, grandson of the Edward Tyndale formerly named as feoffee in the deed of entail of Hunt's Court of 1541-2. Richard Tyndale left seven sons and three daughters, and was succeeded in his now considerable landed estate by his eldest son, Thomas. He died in 1619.

Thomas Tyndale, in 1624, granted to his next brother, Richard, a new lease of Hunt's Court for the lives of himself, his wife, and their son, at four shillings a year rent, the former lease given to Richard by his father being surrendered. Thomas Tyndale, in this deed of surrender and also in his own will, is styled "clothier," but in the register of his burial he is called "farmer." On 17th November, 1631, he was fined £17 10s. as a pecuniary composition for not taking the order of knighthood at the King's (Charles I.) coronation in February, 1626. By his wife, Katherine, daughter of John Harris of Sanigar, in the parish of Berkeley, he had one son, Thomas, who succeeded him, and six daughters. He died in 1636.

Thomas Tyndale, his son, was an adherent of the Parliamentary party during the Civil War. Rudder relates that in 1645 he was obliged to fly from his house, Melksham Court, by the approach of a party of Royalists, and took refuge for three days and nights in a large yew tree in Stinchcombe Wood, from whence he saw his house and Piers Court, the residence of Mr. Pinfold, burnt by the enemy. He died in 1671, leaving four sons and three daughters. From Elizabeth, only child and heiress of

his eldest son, Thomas Tyndale, the Melksham Court estate passed to her grandson, Henry Tyndale Townsend, of Steanbridge, Stroud, who sold it in 1768 to the ancestor of its present owner, Captain Morse. Hunt's Court was sold in 1736 to the Rev. John Tyndale, rector of Charfield, the great grandson of the Richard Tyndale to whom the estate was leased by his eldest brother in 1624. By his grandaughter and heiress, Mary Tyndale, it was sold to Matthew Howell in 1784. In 1800 it was again sold to Mr. Robinson, the grandfather of its present owner.

The Rev. Wm. Tyndale, LL.D., Fellow of Trinity Hall, and minister of St. Edward's Church, Cambridge, the second son of Thomas Tyndale of Melksham Court, who died in 1671, died unmarried in May, 1712. The third son, Joseph Tyndale of Bewdley, was ancestor of the Tyndales of Birmingham, now the senior representatives of the family; Onesiphorus, the fourth son, was ancestor of the Tyndales of The Fort, Bristol; Thomas Tyndale, Esq., of North Cerney, who died in 1783, and Lieut. Col. William Tyndale, of the 1st Life Guards, High Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1797, who sold the estate at North Cerney to Earl Bathurst, and died in 1830, were descended from William, third son of the Richard Tyndale of Melksham Court, who died in 1619.

In the foregoing memoir we look in vain for any trace of William Tyndale the martyr and translator, who was put to death at Vilvorde, near Brussels, in 1536, and who, according to the Rev. R. Demaus, was most probably born about 1484. There are two William Tyndales in the pedigree who lived during that period, but the particulars of their lives, already given, prove that neither of them could possibly have been the martyr; the first William, the Chaplain of Breadstone and lessee of the Rectory of Frampton-on-Severn, having died in possession of those benefices in 1523, and the second living a quiet pastoral life in the secluded village of North Nibley, and being beyond

doubt alive and resident there in 1543. Reference has, however, been made to Edward Tyndale of Hurst and Pull Court, who was one of the feoffees in Alice Tyndale's deed of entail of Hunt's Court in 1541-2, and one of the witnesses to her will two years later, and it is in connection with this gentleman that the only bit of documentary information we possess respecting the family or connections of the translator and martyr has been discovered. William, Marquis of Berkeley, as is well known, having quarrelled with his brother and heir, died in 1492, leaving by his will the castle and the whole of the domains belonging to it to the King, Henry VII, who thereupon entered into possession, and Receivers of the rents were at once appointed. One of the first of these was Edward Tyndale, who was appointed Woodward of "Berkeley's lands" in the counties of Gloucester and Somerset on 6th April, 1507, having, the year before, taken of the Crown a lease for twenty-one years of the scite of the manor of Hurst,[1] at an annual rent of £10 13s. 4d. In 1519 he became Receiver-General of the Crown revenues of the whole of the Berkeley Manors, and in 1523 he took a lease from the Crown for twenty-one years of a fishery in the Severn at Arlinghame called Rodley Weir. He was also steward and auditor of the Abbey of Tewkesbury, and lessee of the abbey manor of the Pull or Pull Court. A letter written by John Stokesley, who was Bishop of London from 1530 to 1539, is preserved in the Public Record Office, in which he distinctly states that this Edward Tyndale was brother to "Tyndale the arch-heretic." As Stokesley had been, prior to his elevation to the Bishopric,

[1] This must not be confounded with the estate to which Richard Tyndale succeeded in 1486 on the death of Richard Clavild, which was called Kingston's, afterwards Rivers's lands, now Kingston Farm. The "scite of the manor of Hurst" is the old farm house called Hurst Farm, and the house there, is, beyond doubt, the one occupied by Edward Tyndale, and in which he died in 1546. It possessed, however, but few ancient or interesting features, and has recently been repaired and much modernized, a piece of what will, perhaps, be considered "vandalism," for which the present writer is responsible, and for which he can only plead in excuse that what he did was in his capacity as a land agent and not as an antiquarian.

Rector of Slimbridge (to which living he was presented in 1509), the parish in which Hurst is situated, and which adjoins Breadstone and Stinchcombe, we may conclude that he was well acquainted with the Tyndales and their connections, and that he is not likely to have been mistaken in his assertion. If we possessed any definite information as to the birth and parentage of Edward Tyndale we might now assume that we knew those of William the Martyr, but unfortunately no such particulars have as yet been discovered. The intimate connection which, however, evidently existed between Edward Tyndale and the family at Melksham Court and Hunt's Court, and which continued to be kept up between their respective descendants down to 1663 and afterwards, amply justifies us, in my opinion, in assuming that they were of one family; in corroboration of which there is also the fact that William the Martyr was, during all the early part of his life, known by the alias of Hychen or Huchyn, in addition to the name of Tyndale. It seems, therefore, fair to conclude with Mr. Greenfield that in all probability Edward Tyndale and William the Martyr were brothers of the first Richard Tyndale of Melksham Court, to whom we may add a fourth brother, viz., John, a merchant of London, who was punished by the Star Chamber in 1530 for assisting William in the circulation of his New Testament.

The elaborate pedigree and account of the Tyndale family given by Rudder, under Eastwood and Stinchcombe, shewing their descent from the Baronial family of the same name, may be dismissed with the remark that there is not a tittle of historical or documentary evidence to support it. The pedigree given by Smyth, also, in the Berkeley Manuscripts, is not distinguished by his usual accuracy, and his statement that the connexion between the Hunt and Tyndale families arose from the marriage of the daughter and heiress of John Hunt to a Hugh Tyndale, towards the end of the reign of Edward IV., is directly contradicted by the evidence afforded by the deed of entail of 1541-2. Smyth himself tells us, under Stinchcombe,

that "he never could obtain to see" the evidences of the Tyndale family, though he had free access to the title deeds of most of the owners of freeholds within the Berkeley manors, of which he was steward; his statements on the Tyndale family and pedigree must, therefore, have been derived from information only.

Edward Tyndale died at Hurst, and was buried at Slimbridge on 22nd August, 1546. His son, Thomas, had a grant in 1565 of Eastwood, near Thornbury, one of the forfeited estates of Edward, Duke of Buckingham. He was a party in 1568 to a deed of settlement of the Hunt's Court Estate, made by Richard Tyndale, son of Alice Hunt, the heiress. His son, Thomas, was the husband of Oriana le Bon, already mentioned, who was probably god-mother (on 2nd March, 1605-6) to her young cousin and namesake, Oriana Tyndale, of Stinchcombe.[1] His eldest son, Thomas, sold the Eastwood estate to Sir Richard Rogers in 1628, and went to live at the Priory, Kingston St. Michael, whence he wrote the letter to his "cousin," Thomas Tyndale of Melksham Court, which has already been mentioned, and is given at length by Rudder. The present representative of this branch of the Tyndale family is J. Warre Tyndale, Esq., of Perridge House, Shepton Mallet.

Melksham Court Farm shews, by the widely scattered position of its parcels, the manner in which it was acquired, being purchased from various persons at different times and by two different families. Some of the lands named in the old documents as Hookwood, Holder's Croft, and Lynclyffe, can still be identified. Bow Grove and the land in "Bery felde" were sold off, probably by the Ashtons, and do not now form part of the estate. I think the "messuage and seven acres, late Matthews's," the first home and seat of the Southend family, may be recognised in an old cottage and close of about that quantity near the

[1] She performed the same kindly office at Thornbury for Mary Hewes on 5th September, 1619.

school; and an old half timber house at the "south end" of the village, now in two tenements, but evidently one residence originally, was probably the dwelling-place of that branch of the Tyndale family when their fortunes had improved.

The name is still represented in the parishes of Nibley, Stinchcombe, and Slimbridge, by a few persons in humble circumstances, who are, without doubt, descendants of the family which produced the man to whom Englishmen, under Divine Providence, owe their Bible.

STOWELL HOUSE AND PARK.

BY

H. S. GAEL, Esq.

Read at Stowell, 29th August, 1877.

In Stowell, anciently and properly called Stonewell (whether from a stone-built well, or from some spring having petrifying properties, I cannot say), what I think most worthy of note is the illustration which the mansion and estate afford of the grandeur of Trade and the grandeur of the Law in the fortunes of some of its former possessors. It seems strange that Trade should have flourished in so secluded a spot as this, but it arose from the fine and beautiful fleece of the sheep feeding on the upland pastures near. It was wool that was the staple production of the extensive tract called the Cotswold Downs, and the town not far distant—Northleach—was once a great mart of that commodity. Here lived—not in this house, which was built in the time of James I., but in the mansion which occupied this site—the elder branch of the Tame family—great woolmen of their day—and who had large houses and warehouses in Cirencester, Fairford, and other towns, and extensive estates here and at Fairford, Tetbury, Rendcombe, and elsewhere. The Stowell branch, about Leland's time (hen. viii.) was represented by Sir Edward Tame, and from them this estate passed to the Atkinsons, by purchase. The heir-general of that family, Wentworth Lord Strafford, sold the estate to the Howes, a great Parliamentarian family in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. Mr. John Howe (either this purchaser or his son) was a zealous and somewhat intemperate politician of the (1688) Revolution time, and apparently not the first so of his family; the printed Law Reports of the time of Charles II., recording against a John Howe a

sentence of Chief Justice Hale, imposing a heavy fine for an assault on Thomas Master, Esq., at an election of Parliament men for Cirencester. Mr. John (Jack) Howe had been sent up to the Convention Parliament as member for Cirencester, and was a conspicuous figure in the House of Commons. The traits of his person and character are shown in the History of England by Lord Macaulay, a writer who, by the close study of the literature of the time, realized, and whose power of word-painting vividly depicted the persons and scenes of his narration. The historian's portrait of John Howe is that of "A person whose body was worn by the workings of a restless, acrid mind . . . He was tall, lean, and pale, with a haggard, eager look, expressive at once of flightiness and shrewdness." It would be curious to see how far this description agrees with the family portrait, wherever that may be. Howe, then a Liberal in politics like his ancestors of the Commonwealth period, became a courtier, and received the lucrative office of Vice-Chancellor to Queen Mary.

But his lack of judgment, and the asperity of his character, instigated him to make attacks on Lords Caermarthen and Halifax, who were friendly to the Revolution settlement, but had served the Crown too faithfully in high office in the late reigns. Their recent services were, in Howe's opinion, no atonement for their past errors. He maintained that the civilities which had passed in the moment of peril signified nothing; "When a viper is in my hand," said he, "I am very tender of him, but as soon as I have him on the ground I set my foot on him and crush him." [1]

The magnanimity of the King inclined him to measures of conciliation and comprehension. He was, therefore, averse to Howe's proceedings, and, by messenger, remonstrated with him upon it. But the remonstrance was so rudely received as to give personal offence to the King. Deprived of his office in consequence, Howe joined the Opposition, or Country party, or, as it was nick-

[1] Macaulay's Hist. of Eng., vol. v., 29, 8vo., Ed., 1860.

named, the "Grumbletonians," consisting of some few Whigs and many Tories, or Jacobites. Of his services in that cause only need be here mentioned his attempt to bring about an impeachment of Lord Somers, which signally failed, and (from its local concernment) his attempt to spread disaffection at that critical period, when, to sufferings from war were added the sufferings from the calling in of the depreciated currency with a view to its restoration on a sounder standard.

Speaking in the House of Commons of the distress—"He knew," he said, "part of the kingdom (Gloucestershire) well. The people there were all living on alms, or ruined by giving alms. The soldier helped himself, sword in hand, to what he wanted. There had been serious riots already, and still more serious riots were to be apprehended."

"The disapprobation of the House was strongly expressed. If this county was in a disturbed state, was it not due to Howe's unprincipled agitation? Some Gloucestershire gentlemen took issue with Howe on the facts. There was no such distress, they said, no such discontent, no such rioting, as he had stated".[1]

John Howe had been returned as one of the Knights of this Shire in 1698, and when, upon the dissolution of that Parliament a general election ensued in 1701, he again came forward, but was opposed by a candidate of the Party which he had quitted. Lord Macaulay's account of the contest is of striking interest, and is further remarkable as being the last part of his history which he revised. He has, unfortunately, left the description of the Gloucestershire election incomplete, but what he has said, it would be wrong to give in other than his own words.[2]

"There was one district to which the eyes of hundreds of thousands were turned with anxious interest—Gloucestershire. Would the patriotic and high-spirited gentry and yeomanry of that great county again confide their dearest interests, to the scandal of Parliament, to the renegade, the slanderer, the mountebank, who

[1] Hist. of Eng., vii., 361.

[2] Ibid, viii., 297.

had been during thirteen years railing at his betters of every description with a spite restrained by nothing but the craven fear of corporal punishment and who had in the last Parliament made himself conspicuous by the abject court he had paid to Louis, and by the impertinence with which he had spoken of William. The Gloucestershire election became a national affair. Portmanteaus full of pamphlets and broadsides, were sent down from London. Every freeholder in the county had several tracts left at his door. In every Market Place, on the market day, papers about the brazen forehead, the viperous tongue, and the white liver of Jack Howe—the French King's buffoon—flew about like flakes in a snowstorm. Clowns from the Cotswold Hills and the Forest of Dean, who had votes but who did not know their letters, were invited to hear these satires read, and were asked whether they were prepared to endure the two great evils which were then considered by the people of England as the inseparable concomitants of despotism—to wear wooden shoes and to live on frogs. The dissenting preachers and the clothiers were particularly zealous, for Howe was considered as the enemy both of conventicles and factories. Out-voters were brought up to Gloucestershire in extraordinary numbers. In the City of London the merchants who frequented Blackwell Hall—then the great emporium for woollen goods—canvassed actively on the Whig side."—*Ibid.*

Sir Richard Cocks and Maynard Colchester were returned members for the county. But at the next election after the demise of King William, Howe was returned with M. Colchester. The last Gloucestershire election of King William's reign was further remarkable for the law suit arising out of it, brought by Mr. Howe against a gentleman of the county—Mr. John Prinn, of Charlton King's—for these words, alleged to have been spoken at Cirencester Market during the contest:—"Do not vote for Howe, for he is a Jacobite, and is for bringing in the Prince of Wales and Popery to destroy our nation." For this slander of a Justice of the Peace and Parliamentary Candidate, £400 damages were given. A new trial was refused, and an appeal to the Exchequer Chamber not prosecuted. Mr. Prinn then appealed to the House of Lords on

points of law, and Mr. Howe, having printed a case in which he spoke of the verdict as having been given by twelve gentlemen of the county of unquestionable credit, Mr. Prinn printed his case, in which he alleged that the jury was so packed by the Sheriff (Sir S. Eckley), a favourer of Mr. Howe, as to consist entirely of voters for Howe. The judgment was, however, affirmed by 48 Lords against 35.

The charge against Mr. Howe of being a Jacobite seems to have been well founded. He was a member of a club at Cirencester of persons, spoken of by Rudder, in the history of that town, as having been adherents to the Pretender, though, he adds, that in his time the members were well affected to the Constitution, as are their successors, for this club is still in existence. Mr. Howe retained the good opinion of a very large party in the State, and particularly in this county, to his death, which took place in 1721. He was succeeded in his estates by his son, who was ennobled by the title of Lord Chedworth. This was during Sir Robert Walpole's administration, from which circumstance we may assume that the politics of this family had again changed. To him succeeded (1742) his eldest son, who, for four years, was Lord Lieutenant of the county. From certain suits in Chancery it appears that he was remarkable for connubial unblessedness. On his death (1762) without issue, his brother succeeded. He died in 1781, and then the title and estates devolved upon his nephew, who was the son of a third brother. The latter lived in comparative seclusion amongst his mother's relations in Suffolk, taking little interest in, and seldom visiting, Gloucestershire or Wiltshire. A friend of his, the Rev. T. Crompton, some time after his decease, published letters that had passed between them from 1780 to 1795.

Amongst these is one dated October, 1781, just after his accession to the title and estates, in which he says he had made but one resolution, and that was, not to live in Gloucestershire, a resolution which had been taken for some years. Only one letter is dated from Stowell Park. In that he professes a child-like ignor-

ance of business, and disposes of some of it in a style playful enough. This Lord died unmarried in 1804, and with him the title became extinct. His character is given in the inscription on the tomb to his memory in St. Matthew's Churchyard, Ipswich :— "He was a nobleman of superior abilities, well versed in every branch of elegant and polite literature. An able, active, and upright magistrate ; intimately acquainted with the laws and constitution of his country ; a strenuous supporter of civil and religious liberty ; firmly attached to the principles established at the Revolution, and a sincere believer in the truths of Christianity." This Lord made, by his will, a disposition of his large estates which was thought singular, and which was impugned on the ground of a predisposition to insanity, but without success. He passed by his relations, but gave a great number of legacies to his theatrical and other friends, and very large ones to his executors and trustees— Wilson and Penrice. That "illustrious statesman and true patriot," Charles James Fox, was a legatee for £1,000. By the trustees, all the Howe estates in this county were sold and dispersed.

One large lot —Stowell and Chedworth—was purchased by Sir William Scott, Judge of the Admiralty Court, elder brother of the great equity lawyer, Lord Chancellor Eldon. In 1821 Sir W. Scott was raised to the Peerage, and took his title from this place. He had one son and one daughter. The son, unfortunately, died unmarried a few months before him, and the father, it is stated in the "Gentleman's Magazine" (January, 1836), having made over to this son, in the son's lifetime, a considerable portion of his estate with a view to save legacy duty, had, on thus becoming representative of his son, to pay such duty on his own property. Lord Stowell died full of years and honours in 1836. By his will the estate went to his daughter, Lady Sidmouth, and on her decease without issue, to the descendants of his brother, the Lord Chancellor. The noble Lord who now holds it is such descendant, and represents the two great lawyers, the Brothers Scott. By his possession of this mansion and estate, may, I think, be aptly illustrated the grandeur of the Law.

REMARKS UPON THE FAIRFORD WINDOWS.

BY

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The mediæval glass of Fairford windows must not be looked upon as an accidental collection of sacred pictures, which, however generally good, have found a place by chance where they now are, but it must be viewed (at any rate by archæologists) as a series, of which the whole is connected, and in which each separate part has its own reason for being where it is. Perhaps the best idea one could receive about this glass is that it resembles a great illuminated book, an illustrated evangelium, divided into distinct parts, each part having its own pages. Nor, indeed, would this view be very far from the actual fact, for it will be seen in the course of these remarks that the glass reproduces very largely and very closely a real book—or books —the Biblia Pauperum, and productions of the same character, of earlier date than itself, with which it is very nearly connected. The general method on which the windows of large sacred buildings were arranged in mediæval times is well described by the French archæologist Didron; in some remarks upon the church at Chalons-sur-Marne, he says:—"In the 12th and 13th centuries the naves present us with personages or histories from the Old Testament. The choir and sanctuary are set apart for those of the gospel. The Apsidal chapels are filled by the saints who have built up the church. And so by chrono-

logical order we advance to the west door, where is unrolled to us the last judgment, as in the great rose window at Chartres." You will observe that the date assigned by Didron to this arrangement is more than 250 years earlier than the glass in Fairford, yet it applies very nearly to the plan on which that has been carried out, and his remarks prove how universal the method must have once been, as well as for how long a time it prevailed. Following up this as a clue to guide us, the church may furnish us readily with a division of subjects. The east end will be one part, the nave a second, the western end a third. It will be found that these parts are quite distinct in themselves whilst intimately connected with each other.

The east end of the church is parted from the rest of it, across its entire width, by handsome open screens of woodwork, three in number; the centre screen marks off the Chancel, or, to speak more correctly, a Chantry with fourteen stalls, those on the sides severally indicate a north and south chapel, formed by enclosing the ends of the respective aisles, and each having had its own altar. The whole of this eastward portion so enclosed is devoted to the representation of the gospel story, beginning with familiar ecclesiastical traditions of the life of the Virgin as the Mother of our Lord, and passing on to those more memorable events which directly pertain to the great act of man's Redemption by Christ. In a word, this portion eastward of the screens may fitly be described as exhibiting a regular chain or systematic series of sacred pictures, which express, in the proper order of time, the chief events of the evangelical history from the earliest circumstances connected with the Incarnation down to the Descent of the Holy Ghost on the Day of Pentecost, with which the series is closed.

Proceeding to details, the earlier subjects of this series may call for somewhat more full description, because they are not familiar now, nor common as they once were in our sacred Art. The chapel enclosed within the screen in the aisle on the north side was dedicated in honour of the Virgin, and all its lights

have reference consequently to her. It communicates, under an open arch, with the sanctuary, having the tomb of John Tame, the builder of this church, placed between the two, so as to be at the foot of the altar literally of each. In the north wall of this chapel are two four-light windows, and in the end or east wall a five-light window, the latter being immediately above the place where the altar of the Lady Chapel stood. There are thus thirteen lights here. If, however, we are to begin with due respect for order, and treat the actual description of this series as a connected whole, it will be necessary to start from a window which is not inside the chapel itself, but is next it on the outer side of the screen. This is also a four-light window placed outside the dividing screen because its subjects are all from the Old Testament, containing traditional references or types taken out of the Jewish Scriptures which belong to the Virgin, and to the Conception and Nativity of her Child. These are, first light, "The Temptation of Eve." The Bible, as it was then read and universally accepted, containing, in the account of the Fall, these words: "She shall bruise thy head;" the words, as interpreted by the tradition of the church, and enshrined in the well known Biblia Pauperum,[1] or picture Bible, were assigned as a prophecy of the Annunciation: "Ipsa conteret caput tuum . . . . . istud in annuntiatione B.M. adimpletum est."—(*Bib. Paup.*) Second light, "Moses at the Burning Bush;" the typical import given to this in mediæval theology, was that the bush which contained the Divine Presence, and was on fire with it but not consumed, symbolised the human flesh of the Blessed Virgin, who received the Divine Presence when she conceived by the Holy Ghost, and withal her frail body did not perish. "Rubus ardens qui non consumitur figurat B.V.M. parientem sine corruptione integritatis corporis."—(*Bib. Paup.*) Third light, "Gideon and the Fleece." The typical reference conveyed here is that the fleece upon the earth prefigured the person of

[1] "Biblia Pauperum."—the word "Biblia" is the plural of a neuter noun, but as it is very commonly, though erroneously employed as a singular to denote one book, it has been so used in this paper, in order to avoid any appearance of pedantry.

the B.V.M., for as the dew came down from Heaven and filled the fleece where it lay, so the Holy Ghost came upon her and overshadowed her in the Incarnation of her Divine Babe. "Figurabat Virginem Mariam, sine corruptione impregnandam ex Spiritus Sancti infusione"—(*Bib. Paup.*) Fourth light, "THE QUEEN OF SHEBA OFFERING GIFTS TO SOLOMON." This subject is the Old Testament typical companion of the Adoration of the Magi in the Nativity, being understood to foreshew, in a figure, the coming of the Gentile Kings to the Infant Jesus, when they brought their gifts from afar, and adored him. "Figurabat Gentes qui de longinquo muneribus veniebant adorare."—(*Bib. Paup.*) These are the four Old Testament subjects closely and immediately connected with the series illuminating the lights of the Lady Chapel. The descriptions from the Biblia Pauperum are given in the very words of that interesting book, in order to exhibit from contemporary authority the undoubted purpose of the artist of this glass in placing these subjects where they stand.

Passing now through the screen, into the Lady Chapel, we have three windows to examine, the first two containing four lights, and the last, five. The four lights in the window next the entry exhibit four traditional subjects, familiar to students of mediæval art, and perpetually repeated from century to century in the sacred pictures which were employed to adorn walls, windows, and books. Those who are acquainted with the celebrated frescoes by Giotto in the Chapel of the Arena, at Padua, which were painted as early as 1304, will recall the manner in which that great mediæval artist has treated these, and many other connected and collateral subjects, as a series in that remarkable building. The four subjects of these lights being, however, no longer well known amongst ourselves, a sufficient description is given here to make the pictures intelligible. First light, "JOACHIM AND ANNE MEET OUTSIDE THE GOLDEN GATE OF THE TEMPLE." This is a meeting between the parents of the Virgin before she was as yet born. The tradition it depicts is this. They had been twenty years united but had no offspring. It grieved them

both. Joachim takes an offering to the Temple, but is repulsed by the High Priest as one under God's displeasure. He flies his home and takes refuge in the desert. An Angel gives him a sign from God that he, returning home, would meet his wife, Anne, outside the Golden Gate, and they should have a child, and should call her name Mary. They here meet and embrace. Behind is the Golden Gate; above it, the red roofs of the Temple. Second light, "The Birth of the Virgin." This is not only an Ecclesiastical but in every sense an Art tradition. The scene is constantly depicted almost as we have it. Anne, the mother of Mary, lies in a narrow bed. Above it is a canopy with curtains rolled up like tassels, which hang from the corners. Her hand lies outside the coverlet. At the farther side, beyond the bed, are female attendants, who take the Infant. Both mother and babe are nimbed to indicate that they are Saints. The perspective of the bed is extremely faulty, it slopes at such an angle as to give it the appearance of sliding downwards out of the picture.[1]

Third light, "The self dedication of the Virgin to the service of God." She ascends the Temple steps to devote herself whilst yet but a little maiden. Her long golden hair floats down her back, her parents stand below. Above the steps, the interior. An altar vested beneath a circular canopy suspended from above. Behind the altar a reredos with three niches, in which, as symbolical of the Hebrew faith, are David, Moses, and Elias. The architecture of the front very delicate and beautiful. Fourth light, "The Espousal of Joseph and Mary." The High Priest, in the presence of six witnesses, joins their hands. The heads are very expressive and ably drawn. Unfortunately this light is

[1] This arrangement, which is strictly traditional in all the leading features, is a very striking instance of the dissimilarity between Dürer's works and these. He treats the same subject, but intentionally departs as far as possible from the ancient type. He omits all nimbs (not here only), he hides the Virgin Mother away in a vast four-post bed, representing all the surroundings as those of a mean German house, with the most commonplace articles about it. Every detail of pointed architecture is studiously suppressed, and the most prominent figure is that of a coarse woman in the foreground, who drains the dregs from an inverted tankard of beer.

irretrievably injured, the lower panels being destroyed, and only the upper part of the composition being left.

The next window in this Lady Chapel also contains four lights, which exhibit subjects much more commonly known to us as connected with the maternity of the Blessed Virgin and the Incarnation of Christ. These four are: First light, "THE ANNUNCIATION;" second light, "THE NATIVITY;" third light, "THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI;" fourth light, "THE PURIFICATION OF THE B.V.M. AND PRESENTATION OF CHRIST IN THE TEMPLE." These exquisite lights have been cruelly injured by wanton violence. Their colouring is so beautiful, and their effect so full of rich harmony, as to require no description to call attention to them. The window beyond these in the end wall, and which forms an east window to this chapel, being immediately above where its altar stood, contains five lights. The obvious intention of the artist who designed this was to give prominence to the centre light. It presents at once to the eye the culminating point of the Lady Chapel, which is the "ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN." This, even in its damaged condition, is supremely lovely. The Blessed Virgin, in the midst of an aureole, stands upon a crescent moon which is borne by an angel under her feet (Rev. xii., 1.) Above her float two others of the angelic host, who place upon her head an elaborate and splendid crown. The form of the Father is seen above on high in the clouds of heaven. On the one side of this, in two lights of the same window, is depicted the "FLIGHT INTO EGYPT," with the "MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS," and on the other the two lights are filled by one subject, "THE CHILD JESUS SEATED AMONG THE DOCTORS IN THE TEMPLE." On the right, the Virgin, accompanied by Joseph, enters, seeking Jesus. She is distinguished by a nimbus. At the feet of Christ three doctors of the law, who hold up their hands astonished at his understanding and answers. It should be noticed how curiously the details of the accessories in this picture correspond to those of that which occupies a similar position in the other Chapel on the South, the same architectural features are repeated, and the same armoire in the background, as if to keep up a link of connexion throughout. This ends the pictures in the Lady Chapel.

We now pass through a lateral screen, which is adapted with much skill so as to form a partition between the Lady Chapel and the Chancel, by passing along the central line of Tame's tomb without resting upon it. Having passed through this screen, we enter the Chancel.

The Chancel is completely occupied by that portion of the series which represent the Passion and Death of Christ. The great East Window, conceived with the intention of drawing to it the eyes of all beholders, is divided into an upper and a lower half by a transom. It is in the lower, under the transom, that the continuation of the evangelical history is carried on from the Lady Chapel. Each of the five lights has its own separate subject, each, also, leads on step by step nearer to the consummation. In the upper half of this great East Window, above the transom, where no eye could fail to see it, there is portrayed in one composition, extending completely through all the lights, the solemn scene of the Crucifixion.

Returning to the five lights which are below the transom, we find how much concentrated thought they express; for these compositions, each quite a distinct subject, are curiously balanced. In the first of the five, Jesus enters Jerusalem in triumph, coming through the gateway into the Holy City. In the last of the five, Jesus quits Jerusalem in shame, going forth again from the gateway to die. Observe that even the gateways are so pictured as to correspond on opposite sides. The Prayer of the Agony in Gethsemane occupies the second light, it is balanced in the fourth by the Scourging, which is, as it were, the Father's answer to the prayer—"If this cup may not pass from me except I drink it, not my will but Thine be done." The cup may not pass. Sentence is pronounced. The first stroke of this Scourge is the first blow from the hand of Death. This is the beginning of that anguish which can end only on the Cross. This is His Father's will. He must drain out this cup to the dregs, now. In the very middle of the five lights is the judgment of Pontius Pilate. Placed here in the centre, it faces another, and, if possible, a more solemn Judgment scene, for exactly opposite to it, at the other extremity of the

church, in the great West Window, is the Judgment Seat of Him who stands here before Pilate. Here He submits to be judged by a human being, there He summons all mankind before His Tribunal. We can hardly fail to detect throughout these details the consummate care and forethought with which these lights were designed.

The lights separately demand a few words as regards their more minute points of interest. The subjects are all capable of being described as art traditions, especially the first and third, Christ riding into Jerusalem, and Christ before Pilate. Both these are found depicted in sculpture upon the oldest Christian Sarcophagi, and although in the case of the Christ before Pilate, the chief actors have undergone a change into mediæval figures (Pilate being a white-haired, bearded old man in the glass, but a Roman officer in the early sculpture), at least in the instance of the triumphant entry, the whole of the arrangement is curiously similar, and therefore is the more interesting as really enshrining an art tradition many centuries old.

The first light is "CHRIST'S TRIUMPHANT ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM." Some of the most ancient tombs of Christians known to exist have this very scene sculptured upon them, and, in many particulars, singularly similar. The sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, at Rome, is dated. He departed this world on the 8th of the Kalends of September, A.D. 369. Upon the stone which was hollowed to receive his dust is the Christ riding upon the Ass, the gateway into which he enters, the figure within it, the tree close by, the man standing in the tree. Many other of the early sarcophagi repeat the same incident with the same accessories.[1] How thrilling and strange is the interest that attaches to a tradition of Christian Art like this, a tradition of which not the ideas alone, but the very forms have been treasured in the associations of faithful hearts from generation to generation But, besides this, there is one other extremely interesting particular connected with this first light. It transmits to us in these days of revived Chris-

[1] See plates XV., XXII., XXXIX., *Sculture e Pitture Sagre. Bosio ed Aringhi. Roma.* 1737.

tian ritual a very ancient usage of the Anglican Church, and also of the old Gallican. The ancient custom, according to our English "Salisbury use," of certain of the choir chanting, from some high place in the church, on Palm Sunday morning, the Latin hymn,

"Gloria, laus, et honor,
Tibi Sit, Rex Christe Redemptor."

is commemorated in this picture, where the boys above the gate hold a scroll of music with these words written on a stave. This is the same hymn which very appropriately has been chosen for use on the same day, Palm Sunday, in "Hymns Ancient and Modern." A similar usage was common abroad, and was practised at the Cathedral of Rheims up to the year 1830, when it was abandoned.[1] The second light is the "Agony in Gethsemane." Christ kneels in solemn prayer, both hands raised in the urgency of his entreaty. High over His head, according to the realistic feeling of mediæval Art, is placed the vivid symbol of His suffering, the Cup which His Father willed He should drink. No angel strengthens him. His favoured Apostles are wrapped in deep sleep. His wakeful enemies enter above through a doorway into the garden. The third light is "Christ before the Judgment Seat of Pilate." On a stately seat an august personage, with long and fleecy beard, and snowy hair rolling over his shoulders, turns with half-averted face and troubled look to wash his hands, whilst an attendant pours water over them from a golden ewer. The dignity and the doubt upon the features of this Roman judge are stamped as vividly as the coarseness and hate are upon the faces of the rough soldiers around. The figure of Christ has been greviously damaged and still more greviously mended. The hands are bound at the wrists with cords. The head, which is surrounded by no nimb, does not belong to the figure. The lower panels of the light have been barbarously destroyed. The fourth light is "Jesus Scourged." He stands pinioned against a pillar, His arms bent behind Him. He is naked, save that a purple cloth is bound round His loins. Two executioners, impersonations of human

[1] Cet antique usage ne s'observe plus depuis 1830."—*Notre Dame de Rheims par Prosper Tarbe.*

cruelty, inflict the sentence. The contrast of expression between the meek sufferer and his executioners is rendered with wonderful truth. Pilate and the High Priest look on from a balcony above, the former readily recognised by his resemblance to the figure on the Judgment Seat, the latter by the Roll of the Law which he carries in his hand. The same averted eye and uneasy look mark the face of Pilate here also. The lower part of the light is destroyed. The fifth light is "CHRIST GOING FORTH TO CALVARY BEARING THE CROSS." This, as already stated, is the answering picture to the Triumphant Entry. The gateways correspond in position. As there, He was just entering, amidst signs of triumph and songs of joy, so, here, He has just come forth amid insults. A soldier aims a wanton blow at Him from behind. Another drags at the cord which is fastened round His body. From His waist are hung heavy blocks armed with spikes, behind and before, to increase His torment as He moves. He bows beneath a tall Cross, which is "Tau-shape," the most ancient form. Beneath the arch of the gate, and scarcely visible behind the other figures, is seen the upper portion of the face of the Virgin Mother, watching what is being done. In the middle distance are the thieves with their wrists bound behind their backs led forth to execution. In the extreme distance men set up crosses: two are placed, they prepare for the third. These all are, or were originally, the tau cross.[1]

We pass now to the portion of this window which is above the transom. Here, forming one great picture which fills all the lights, is the representation of the Death of Christ. The scene is most solemn and impressive, though radiant with colour. In the centre of all is the Cross on which Jesus hangs. The miserable spirit of iconoclastic rage has singled out this for special vengeance. The glass is hopelessly shattered, all the upper portion of the figure is destroyed except the hands, the scroll also remains, with the letters, I. N. R. I.[2] Under the Cross of Jesus are two men

[1] The crosses in the extreme distance were altered from the Tau to the Latin shape by Messrs. Hardman in restoring this light some years ago.

[2] That which Pilate wrote, "Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum."

on horseback, who, both together, drive a long spear into His side ; probably they are Longinus, the Roman, and the Jewish High Priest (the pendant strings down his back are part of his priestly head-dress), who are thus grouped to indicate that both Jews and Gentiles were concerned in His death. Upon the right hand of Christ the penitent thief, for whose soul an angel waits, with the Virgin Mary swooning—St. John and St. Mary Magdalene beneath. Upon Christ's left hand the impenitent thief, in wait for whose lost soul a devil hovers above his cross ; beneath are the centurion, with a scroll in Latin, "truly this man was the Son of God," and a soldier. On the wings are the officers in waiting, one of those on Christ's right is probably meant for Pilate himself. It is a most singular treatment of this subject that the personages in this picture, with the exception of the crucified, the Virgin's group, and one other figure, are all mounted on horseback ; and the singularity of choosing such a treatment is not a little increased by the fact that the designer however skilful in other details, was, altogether unable to delineate a horse. The animals are not alone badly drawn, but are in the most unnatural and constrained positions. They are fitted in so exactly between the mullions that the tail or rump is pressed against one and the forehead flattened against the other, or the bent foreleg is lifted up in an impossible attitude, and from the knee down lies straight against the stone-work of the mullion.[1] Attention is called to this because a very important inference follows from it :—*The fitting in of these horses has been no accidental collocation. They must have been designed to stand in these lights where they are placed now.*

Before we quit the Sanctuary there is one window to examine besides the great East Window. It contains three lights, the subjects of which belong to the interval between the Death and the Resurrection of the Lord. These carry on the links, and are the "Taking down from the Cross," the "Entombment," and "Christ Preaching to the Spirits in Prison." It is impossible to

[1] It is almost superfluous to point out how this disposes of the idea that these lights could have been from the design of Albert Dürer.

pass these without a brief comment. The first light is the "TAKING DOWN FROM THE CROSS." Joseph of Arimathea, standing on high upon a ladder, lowers the lifeless body. There is nowhere to be seen in this beautiful glass a more striking work of the ancient glass-painter than this dead Christ. The entire helplessness of death is here. The limbs and head are pendulous from the relaxation of all muscular effort. The colouring of the naked skin is marvellous; it has the pallor of death, and yet preserves the tint of human flesh. Nicodemus, with lifted arms, waits at the foot of the ladder to receive the body. The Blessed Virgin, wrapped in grief, watches, kneeling, while they let down the corpse. St. John is her companion. The second light is "THE ENTOMBMENT." To fit this in, the Tomb is drawn with its narrow end towards the spectator, which embarrasses it. Hearne, the Antiquary, has made a singular error as to this light. He describes the rock in the background as a representation of the miraculous darkness, and his error is repeated to this day. The third light is "CHRIST PREACHING TO THE SPIRITS IN PRISON." This, though very greatly injured, is full of interest. In the very head of the light are rolling clouds, out of which stream downward rays like sword blades, Seraphim are ranged on either side close to the cusping, their wings form an arch of burning ruby. Below these the Victory of the Cross is asserted by Angels. These Hosts of Heaven bear weapons and rush upon their foes. On the left the Spirits of Evil fly, shrieking with rage. Beneath the rout of fiends the flames of Hell burst forth as from a rock-bound prison. Below, upon the right, stood Christ bearing the Banner of the Resurrection, and releasing the imprisoned. This is entirely destroyed, the cross-head only, above the Banner, is left. Heads, with fillets of pearl, and meant to describe Angels, remain. These were the Heavenly Host who accompanied Jesus. Adam and Eve, the first transgressors, are being set free, in accordance with the conventional treatment of the middle ages. There is one figure more, and it is too remarkable to omit it here. Within the rock-bound prison, behind the bars of a dungeon, white with glowing heat, is a human form. The arms are wildly flung aloft, the fingers parted with

terror, the hair streaming upwards into flames, which curl around and intermingle with it—on every lineament of the awful face the living stamp of everlasting despair.

This wonderful piece of glass painting is the impersonation of a lost soul, whom Christ has not liberated—a soul aware too late that there is now no redemption for ever. None but a mediæval artist could have conceived a design so intensely simple and at the same time so profoundly calculated to impress the thoughts with a lasting sentiment of awe.

These are the links which connect the death of Christ with the Resurrection. We now quit the Chancel, and, passing through the lateral screen on the south side, we find ourselves in the Chapel which there answers to the Lady Chapel on the north.

In this, as in the sister Chapel which has been described, there are two four-light windows in the side, and a five-light window at the end, forming an east window. As the opposite chapel was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin, there is reason to suppose, from the subjects which fill the lights, that this was set apart in honour of "The Blessed Sacrament." It contains the chief events which pertain to the Resurrection, and carries the series of the evangelical history to its close, the Descent of the Holy Ghost.

The continuation of the links in the series commences with the five-light window in the east wall. But the eye is here at once met by a seeming incongruity, for the centre light (certainly the one intended to be the chief) contains the Transfiguration, and has no reference to the Resurrection. This, however, is most intimately connected with the purpose for which this Chapel was used.

The artist desired, in the figure of Christ, to recall the vision of Patmos, "One like unto the Son of Man, clothed with a garment down to the feet"—his hands and feet "like unto fine brass as if they burned in a furnace." (Rev. I., 13, 15). The upraised hand, which is left, and the feet, are not flesh but gold colour. The head and upper part are destroyed, but there remains upon the breast a small round disc, one inch and three-quarters in diameter, out of which proceed darting rays as from a sun, and

underneath, three long beams of sunlight stream down toward the persons of the three favoured Apostles below. This round disc has upon it the letters indicating the sacred name, I.H.S. Resting on our Lord's bosom it represents to the eye the consecrated wafer, which was reserved in this Chapel to be adored by the faithful, and which this method of description identifies as one with the sacred body of our Lord. There is an allusive reference conveyed to the theological doctrine of transubstantiation in the Transfiguration itself, in which "the glory as of the first begotten of the Father" shone through the veil of Christ's mortal body. Moses and Elias are in the clouds on either side.

The other subjects in this window fill two lights each, and carry on the links of the Resurrection. The two lights next the Chancel represent "CHRIST APPEARING TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN." This is from a legend which is mentioned by St. Ambrose as current in the fourth century. The scroll proceeding from the lips of Jesus has on it "Salve, Sancta Parens." The two lights on the other side of the centre depict "CHRIST APPEARING TO THE HOLY WOMEN." This story is beautifully told here, though divided by the mullion. The first tidings are in the scene in the background. We seem to see the garden. The dawning sunlight plays upon the entrance. Opposite, on the other side (in the light nearest the Transfiguration) is the cave. The empty tomb stands along the front of it, the lid is turned round and lies across the end. The grave-clothes hang over the foot. Upon the lid kneels the Angel. The three women are come at the dawn bearing spices. They stand before the Angel, their eyes are cast down, for they are troubled. The Angel holds up his hand as he addresses them; the attitude is excellent. He seems to say "He is not here, for He has risen." Then, in the foreground, the large figures carry on the history (it must not be forgotten that this is one composition occupying two lights). Christ appears to the same three women. Two of them are close together, one has fallen on her knees, the other stands at her back holding a vase. This one is an exquisite piece of painting. The face exceeding lovely and wrapt in beholding the risen Christ, the features extremely beautiful, the expression singularly pure,

trustful, and sincere, the eyes beaming with love, the fair rounded lips full of tenderness. It would be difficult for the art to produce a finer specimen of skill in design and manipulation than this figure. Both these women are nimbed. The third female figure kneels close before Christ, and it demands special remark. It differs entirely from either of the others. There is no nimb to this head. The costume of the others is of no particular period but the dress of this figure is most elaborate and studied, and has every appearance of being that of some particular person. The blue hood edged with gold, the jacket of brocade bordered with pearls, the sleeves of ruby faced with green, the ample blue skirt, and, most curious of all, the frill of goffered lawn down the whole front of the costume, are quite unlike the details of any other figure in the church. Nor is the face less remarkable. It is not beautiful, but is most characteristic and marked, particularly by the absence of any eyebrows—the hair drawn back from the forehead and the high coiffure on the top of the head with an agraffe of pearls fastened in the front, give an individuality to this female figure eminently suggestive that it is a portrait. If it be so, it would confer a singular interest on the whole composition. The figure of our Lord has much dignity, he is in the act of blessing with his right hand, and in his left he grasps the Resurrection Banner. His attitude seems to forbid the closeness of former intercourse.

The next window carries on in four lights the same chain of subjects. Of these four, the "Supper at Emmaus" occupies the first pair, and the "Unbelief of Thomas" the other. Both these are well chosen to suit the purpose of the Chapel. Though Jesus had borne the two Apostles' company and conversed with them on their journey, He made Himself "known in breaking of bread" only. The doubting Thomas must recall here, to the minds of those who worship, if anywhere, the rebuke of Christ when the Apostle refused to believe that Jesus was present in the body unless he could handle his wounds, "Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed. Blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed." In this pair of lights the assembly of the Apostles is gathered so as to fill one, and in the other Thomas has cast himself at his Master's feet.

We have reached now the last window in which this series of events is depicted. Here are four lights, containing three subjects. The first pair comprises one composition, the "APPEARANCE OF CHRIST AT THE SEA OF TIBERIAS." The third light is "THE ASCENSION." The last is the "DESCENT OF THE HOLY GHOST." In the first of these subjects Christ stands by the brink of the sea, unknown. Upon the water, in a fisher's boat, are Peter, James, and John. The moment represented is the hauling in of the net, "Now, they were not able to draw in for the multitude of fishes." The fish are painted with considerable dexterity, so much so that they were celebrated for their life-like appearance by a poet of Charles I.'s reign, at which date the parish clerk used a fishing rod, or "angle," to point out the beauties of the glass :—

> "When, with a fishing-rod, the clarke
> St. Peter's draught of fishe doth marke,
> Such is the scale, the eie, the finn,
> You'd think they strive and leape within.
> But if the nett which holdes them brake,
> Hee with his angle some would take."
>
> *W. Stroud*, 1635.

The second of the subjects in this window is, as regards its art, the most barbarous in the whole church, representing in the most narrowly conventional manner, the Ascension of Christ. The Mount of Olives is supposed by an extreme stretch of imagination to be here delineated as an attenuated cone drawn up into the upper part of the light ; upon the summit is a cap of green herbage, on which are left the prints of the feet of the ascended Christ. The feet, with a portion of robe, are seen higher up. At the base of the cone are grouped the Apostles. The third and last subject in the window is the proper completion of the evangelical history, and forms the most suitable finish that could have been selected for the series. It represents the Descent of the Holy Ghost on the Day of Pentecost. The treatment is stiff and strongly conventional, but it vividly expresses the event. The figures are placed within a high screen of panel work which forms a background. In the centre, on a high seat, is the Blessed Virgin, St. John on her right, St. Peter on her left, the other Apostles in due order. From above descends a nimbed Dove. The handling in this light is

wanting in delicacy, but it is vigorous, and its effect good. The canopy over the figures is an excellent example, being one of the least injured in the church.

We have now completed the circuit of the East end, and finished the pictured pages which make up one chapter of this great illuminated book written on glass. Passing through the screen we reach the Nave. Now, the Nave has its own great purpose to express, and that is the illustration of the Apostles Creed, the ancient symbol and summary of the Faith.

The illustration of the Apostles' Creed in these windows is carried out by a method conspicuously mediæval. We have, in fact, before us here the abiding record of a tradition which we ourselves have forgotten, though we retain the name of it under the familiar title of "Apostles' Creed." For we no longer preserve the recollection of the cause which led men to attach to the "Creed of Aquileia" this other designation, by which alone we now know it. The legend is of extremely remote antiquity, for it is referred to as familiar among Christians by Ruffinus, a presbyter of Aquileia, the contemporary of Jerome, at the end of the fourth century. The twelve Apostles, according to this tradition, when on the eve of separating for their great work, assembled together in one place, and there, under the prompting of the Holy Ghost, they contributed each of them one saying, so that the whole being put together formed the common rule and standard of the Faith. To each Apostle one article of the Creed was traditionally assigned as that which he contributed.[1]

During the middle ages no method of commemorating this ancient tradition of the Church was more likely to be widely adopted than that of pictorially representing the twelve, each of them bearing a scroll on which was inscribed the words of the Creed attributed to himself. In these mediæval representations of the Apostles the order in which they are ranged occasionally alters, but the practice prevailed almost universally and was a most familiar usage of Christian art for several centuries.

[1] *Ruffinus. Exposit. Symboli. ad calcem Cypriani., p.* 17, *Oxon*, 1682. *Augustin de Tempore, Serm.* CXV. *Ed. Bened, Vol.* V., *Appen. p.* 395.

Upon the wide prevalence of this practice there sprung up another, which soon became so closely linked to it that the two were at last rarely separated. This second usage was the joining to the twelve Apostles the like number of Prophets. For this there was scriptural authority, seeing that St. Paul described the Church as "built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets." It ought also to be remembered, if these mediæval usages seem now to be strange, that the mysterious words of the Book of Revelation revealed to those who studied its pages in the cloister that "the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb."—(Rev. xxi., 14).

There is a very beautiful MS. volume in the British Museum known by the name of Queen Mary's Psalter, to which has been assigned a date so early as 1310. This book is profusely illuminated, and contains, amongst other paintings, two leaves of vellum having six miniature panels on each, every panel enclosing two figures, viz., an Apostle with his own words of the Creed, and his attendant Prophet with the corresponding words of his prophecy. This remarkable book, written some two centuries before the Fairford glass was executed, furnishes to us the most complete explanation we can have of the original intention with which the windows in the aisles of the Nave on both sides were designed. The manuscript not only exhibits the tradition which coupled twelve Prophets with twelve Apostles, but it agrees very nearly with the glass, both as regards the selection of Prophets and the inscriptions upon the scrolls. In fact, the agreement is so singular that mistakes made and probably common in 1310, in attributing certain verses of Scripture to the wrong prophets, seem to have continued undiscovered, or certainly uncorrected, and are perpetuated in the scrolls upon these windows in the Nave of Fairford Church.

This interesting and important part of our enquiry is rendered more clearly in a tabular form.—*Post pp.* 91, 92.

We are thus in possession of contemporary evidence such as must remove all doubt as to the meaning of having twelve Apostles on one side of the church and twelve Prophets on the other side, as we find them at Fairford. The figures clearly answered each to each in corresponding pairs, and it must be little short of certain that the figures of each pair faced each other from opposite aisles. They certainly were designed originally to do so. Thus St. Peter on the south side, standing nearest the Sanctuary at the east of the Nave, still commences the Creed of the Apostles with the words "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth,"[1] and we cannot hesitate to feel assured that the Prophet Jeremiah was intended to respond, from the opposite window on the north, and doubtless stood in the light which faced St. Peter, with this scroll "Ye shall call upon the Father. . . . . who made and founded the Heavens." Andrew, next in order to his brother, holds the second article, the belief "in Jesus Christ, His only Son our Lord," to whom David made reply, in the words of the second Psalm, "The Lord said unto me, 'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee.'" And so the faith was proclaimed along the sacred line to the end, the voices of the Hebrew Prophets uttering each from the Oracles of God the ancient forecast of one chief truth that was to be delivered to the saints and handed on in ages to come for the salvation of mankind.

Having in our hands the key to the original purpose of this series, we also possess a clue to the order in which every member of it was meant to be placed, for the Articles of the Creed must proceed in a fixed sequence, and the scrolls of the Prophets must severally accord to them. Knowing this much, it becomes immediately obvious that the ancient order is preserved in the case of the Apostles, but broken in that of the corresponding Prophets.

It is clear that the figures have been disturbed, that they were removed away out of their places, and that, when put back again, although one aisle was filled as before, the clue was lost to the true arrangement of the other aisle.

[1] The actual lettering upon this scroll now may serve as a good example to show both the contracted spelling and the imperfect condition of the inscription:—"Credo ī Deū pa.rem ōīpotentē. . . . . et terre."

But even as regards the series of the twelve prophets, there exists still a most singular proof to demonstrate the fact that they did stand formerly as has been now conjectured, for the twelve as set up in this church must always have been in three groups of four prophets, filling four-light windows in this nave. Now, taking them just as they stand, each quartette of figures by itself, and giving each quartette a letter to denote its place in the series, we will call the group of four prophets nearest the Chancel A, that next below it B, and that nearest the west window C; and then affixing to each prophet a number in his own window to show which light he now occupies (counting from left to right as one views the glass), the group A will give us this as its order :— "1, Jeremias; 2, David; 3, Isaias; 4, Zacharias." The group B, "1, Michæas; 2, Malachias; 3, Daniel; 4, Abdias." Lastly the group C, "1, Hosea; 2, Amos; 3, Sophonias; 4, Joel." This is the actual and veritable existing order of the series at this moment.

Having this in our hands it is perfectly plain to discover what has happened. The lights were taken out, the figures were numbered, each window separately, and the lists were preserved. In these lists, however, the numbering had been made by counting from the east end of the church toward the west (which, to an ecclesiastic, would have no doubt appeared as the more correct), that is to say, the count begun from the right hand instead of from the left, contrary to our modern custom. After some interval, we know not how long, the time arrived to replace the lights again. The original lists, or copies of them, were placed in the hands of a glazier who was not acquainted with the method of numbering on which the lists had been made out. In replacing the several figures he adhered to the lists carefully, but he numbered according to our ordinary fashion, from left to right, and by so doing he changed the relative places of the four prophets composing each group in the three windows. He also made one other slip, for he changed the places of B and C *as groups*. But it is a most curious result to arrive at that the arrangement given above requires no change or alteration of any sort except that C should stand where B does, *to become the original list itself*. If groups B and C be interchanged,

this list as it would then stand, would give the very order of the Prophets in the MS. of 1310. Each Prophet is in his own proper position to face his companion Apostle.

Were any further evidence required to show that groups B and C have really changed places, it is not wanting. The Apostle who carries the last of the scrolls in the Creed bears at the end of the inscription the word "Amen." The last prophet of the twelve should have a scroll with the same ending, and this will be seen to be "Abdias," the fourth figure of the quartette now denoted by B. He is the only prophet who bears an "Amen." This word shows that this prophet closed the series, and should stand the twelfth from the Chancel. His three brother prophets must move along with him in due order, and therefore it is clear this group originally was the last.

The intention of the design upon which the windows on both sides of the nave were filled, having been now identified with a very ancient canon of mediæval art, it remains to say a few words upon their execution. The figures in the south aisle, that is the Twelve Apostles, have sustained irreparable injuries, yet even in their ruin they are stamped with great dignity and grandeur. There is no doubt that these heads are intended to portray individual types. This is exemplified especially in the case of St. Peter and St. John. Here we have the same Peter, who, as an aged shepherd, appears in the catacombs, who is described in legendary portraiture as a robust old man with broad forehead, coarse features, open countenance, thick beard, silvery white and curled, bald on the top of the head, his grey hair somewhat like a tonsure.[1] The St. John is very beautiful, not the aged Saint of Patmos so familiar to painters of the Greek communion, but the beloved Apostle, just as he may have lain on His Master's breast in the very bloom of early youth, a beardless face, fair and tender and loving, very slightly painted, but by the hand of a supreme master in this material. The nimbs are discs of solid colour. These powerful nimbs of deep amber, ruby, or brown, some elaborately

[1] Jameson: Sacred and Legendary Art. Vol. 1, p. 189.

picked out with ornament, against which the heads of these Apostles are set, combine to make up one amongst the many proofs that the designs of these figures differ widely from the works of Dürer, who discarded the use of the nimb altogether. Each Apostle bears a distinctive symbol. The feet are bare, except in the instance of St. James the Greater, who wears the pilgrim's boot. Observe the curious hooks for fastening these. He carries the other attributes of a pilgrim besides. The canopies are elaborate and much enriched. The pedestals alternate in pattern, six being of one and six of another, and in their minuteness of detail are most interesting if studied. For instance, the central niche in one of these contains the picture of an interior. It is a chapel, having in it three pointed windows ; against the end wall stands an altar raised upon a foot pace and vested, over which is an open triptych with the Rood painted upon it. The whole of this quaint and delicate painting measures but four inches square. How lavishly profuse of most skilled labour were the workmen who threw in such accidents of detail, and how they must have loved the labour which their genius adorned so much.

In the North Aisle the series of Prophets happily has undergone less defacement. They are a triumph of mediæval art, which hitherto modern efforts has striven in vain to reach. The figures are eminently noble and grave of aspect, unconstrained in attitude, though standing between stone mullions which leave them each a space of only twenty inches wide. Above all they are radiant with colour, possessing withal the truest harmony without intercepting an ample supply of light. Neither the canopies nor the pedestals are as rich as those of the Apostles. The pedestals strikingly resemble the stone pedestal brackets below niches in the church itself, so much so, indeed (the mouldings being very nearly identical), that the resemblance can scarcely be fortuitous.

There are some curious errors in the scrolls which are distinctly glass-painters mistakes, as the figures must have borne them from the workshop. Zacharias, in the MS. of 1310, carries the words, "They shall look upon me whom they have pierced" (chap. xii., 10), being the prophet attendant upon St. John, who proclaims the

Passion and Death of Christ. But Zacharias, though apparently placed correctly in his own group, here bears the words "I will awaken thy Sons," as prophetic of the Resurrection. The scroll of Joel also is here inscribed "In the Valley of Jehosaphat he will judge all nations," in allusion to the last judgment, whereas, to fit the position which he was painted to occupy, his scroll should be as in the MS., "I will pour out My spirit upon all flesh," to accord with the article "I believe in the Holy Ghost." It is noticeable also that the figure of Sophonias is a replica from the cartoon of Micheas, the colours being varied.[1]

The aisles contain each one window more on the extreme west. These windows balance each other, the one having figures of the four Evangelists, accompanied each by his evangelical symbol, and the other those of the four great Doctors of the Church : Jerome, Gregory, Ambrose, and Augustine. This is the carrying on into the History of the Church the same principle exemplified in the proclamation of the Creed by the Apostles and their attendant Prophets, it having been a frequent usage of mediæval Art to associate the four writers of the sacred books of the Gospel with the four greatest of the teachers of its truths. There are numerous instances remaining of this practice, the one most likely to be remembered by us is probably the dome of S. Giovanni at Parma, where the design represents Matthew attended by Jerome, Mark by Gregory, Luke by Augustine, and John by Ambrose.[2]

Both of these windows are worthy of careful study. That containing the four Doctors was a splendid example of colouring, but is hopelessly wrecked. The handling and execution of this differ, in many small particulars, from the other windows, and appear to be the latest in point of date. Mark the complete variation of type in the bracket-pedestals and the lettering in white letters, of which these are the only instances here.

[1] Amongst the Apostles the figure which does duty for Matthæus is a repetition of that used for St. Philip.

[2] "In the most ancient churches the four Doctors are placed after the four Evangelists."—Mrs. Jameson, Sacred and Legendary Art. Vol. I., 280.

With these closes the second chapter of this great illuminated book. We now arrive at the third part, which is "THE DOOM AND ITS TYPES."

Representations of the Final Judgment of all mankind are not found amongst the earlier works of Christians, but the supreme awfulness of such a scene and the surpassing gravity of its consequences caused it at a later period to be made a frequent subject. It is found at the western end of the sacred buildings, sculptured in the pediments above the doors, or painted in fresco upon the interiors of the west walls, or in west windows. It appears constantly in the manuscripts which were the prototypes of the Block-Books, and in these books themselves. Out of this frequency of repetition grew a fixed method of representing it. Subject to a certain amount of variation its pictorial delineation became itself a tradition.

The Church of Fairford at its western end has three windows the principal of the three occupying the chief space of the west wall of the nave above the west door, and there being a smaller, window on either side of it, filling up the end of each of the aisles. These three will be found to form a most definitely marked series in themselves, having for its intention to display the terrors of the last day; and the close and intimate relation of these three windows towards each other, though for ages unperceived and unnoticed, will be obvious enough when pointed out by the aid of the mediæval Biblia Pauperum.

It will be observed how they are planned. There is a great centre window with a smaller one on each side, so as to bear no unreal resemblance to a triptych with its doors opened back. In the Block-Books the whole of the subjects are treated throughout as triptychs. The principal member is always the centre picture, which invariably has the gospel illustration or New Testament subject upon it. The smaller members on either side have Old Testament subjects, either types or parallels to the centre. It proves to be the case upon careful examination that the three western windows are grouped together precisely upon this plan,

and are, in fact, no other than a great triptych taken from the Biblia Pauperum, and magnified into the grand and terrible scene depicted here with its attendant parallel subjects.

The proof of this in detail is very simple. Long before the date when these windows were designed it was the received custom of the illuminators to accompany the representation of Christ sitting in Judgment by two parallels from the Old Testament. We are not concerned now to discuss the question whether the parallels they chose were or were not suitable. It may be that they were anything but appropriate, but all we have in view at present is to show that there were two parallel judgments which were commonly employed in ancient books to stand by the side of the throne of the Great Judge. A variety of existing examples will show how widely the repetition of the same two subjects prevailed; it may be well to refer to some one MS. in particular as affording a good instance, and such an one may be found among the King's MSS., B.M., No. V., date about 1400. This rare piece of mediæval handiwork is older than any Block-Book, but these took up the practice as used by the illuminators and perpetuated it, as the various forms of the Biblia Pauperum prove, whose dates are from 1430 to 1470. Now the parallels which these ancient artists adopted and thus constantly repeated were a Judgment pronounced by David and another by Solomon. These are the subjects of the windows in the north and south aisles respectively, standing toward the great west window as the wings do to the centre in a triptych.

This statement, relative to the west windows in the aisles, is sustained by very curious and complete proof from the windows themselves, a few particulars of which may be worth noting.

The two windows, though separated by the nave, are companions in every particular, and even in the details of their pictorial representations each part in the one has had a corresponding part in the other. They contain five lights, and are transomed so as to form an upper and a lower portion. The subjects in each filled the lower divisions; the parts above the transoms contained a description in black letter, and this description in black letter is a very important element in their identification.

It would appear that the qualities in the person of the Judge symbolized under these parallels from the Old Testament were intended to be "Justice" and "Truth." In order to symbolize Justice they employed the "JUDGMENT OF DAVID," pronounced upon the Amalekite who killed Saul; and for Truth the "JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON" upon the living and dead child.

The Judgment of David is that in the south aisle. The picture, damaged and apparently confused, supplies every particular which is noted here. It is continuous through the five lights; it represents the King's Palace. The three lights in the middle part are the interior, the two outsides are the vestibules; in the centre is King David seated on a throne. He is turbanned, his aspect noble as befits a warrior-king, his sword between his legs as he sits, he wears a mantle of deep claret with an ermine tippet; in his right hand he bears a sceptre. The incident of the picture takes place upon the King's left hand. There a stripling, David's armour-bearer, grasps by the hair the head of the Amalekite just severed from the trunk.[1] The headless trunk (difficult to decipher) lies prone at the stripling's feet. The King turns to listen whilst the youth acquaints him that his judgment is fulfilled. In the vestibule, upon his right, stands the king's chamberlain with a double chain of gold, his chancellor, and a young noble. In the opposite vestibule, on the king's left, are soldiers in mail pressing into the palace to watch the execution of the sentence.

The identification of this with the subject contained in the Biblia Pauperum does not, however, depend upon the picture. The black letter description was given in two tablets in the portion

[1] Upon the blade of the sword in the armour-bearer's hand, about two inches below the guard is the cypher 𝔄. This cypher has, by some, been claimed as an early mark for "Albert," and attributed to Dürer. But the letter 𝔄 on Swords, Glaives, and Bills, in this position, is well known to archæologists. Sir Samuel Meyrick, without any knowledge of this glass, wrote a paper in the "Archæologia" of the Soc. Ant. (vol. ii., p. 106), upon a suit of armour made for King Henry VIII., in 1509, in which he quotes various examples of it. See "St. George before Diocletian," plate 10, and the "Beheading of a Female Saint," plate 13 of that paper. But even if this did not dispose of the claim, as it entirely does, there is no signature of Dürer's from which the letter 𝔇 is absent as here.

above the transom, and there is enough left there to make it a matter of certainty. That which remains is part of the second tablet, and formerly was in the light next the great west window. The writing is much contracted, the passage upon it is, however, identical with the Block Book—the parts in black letter being those left.

Extract from the Bib. Paup., r. (fo. xxxvii.)

TABLET I.

(As it was.)

"Legitur in ij.° libro Regum 1.° Cap^e quod Rex David post mortem Saul Mansit in Sizilech, et veniens unus a terra Amalechitarum, jactabat se, quod interfecisset Christum Domini, scilicet Saul." [1]

TABLET II.

"Data est **Super eo sentencia mortis** a David, **quod os ejus locutum fuisset adversus eum, et dixit ad armigerum suum—Erue in eum et interfice eum. David Christum significat—qui,** ut Amalachitum **David, judicaturus** est omnes gentes in æquitate et **unicuique remunerabit** juxta delicta sua."

The companion picture in the north aisle is the "Judgment of Solomon." As in the former, the King is seated upon his throne in the centre. The youthful monarch is beardless, with flowing locks; on his head is set his golden crown, his sceptre is borne over his right shoulder. The incident here has perished. Two female heads remain, those of the women who contended for the living child; one approving, looks towards the King, the other horror-struck, turns from him. Among the fragments a man's hand grasps a naked sword with the point downwards. Upon the young king's right hand stand, below his throne, two aged counsellors, admirably painted. These faces bear every trace of having been studied from the life. They carry their books of precedents in their hands, and appear to muse in deep thought at the decision of the boy-king. The blue robe of one is fastened at the hip, as was the fashion of the day, by a large round brooch, which is of ruby glass, having its ruby facing incised into the white glass, so as to carry the appearance of white pearls being laid on it in a pattern. The wide, shapeless, round-toed shoes incidentally mark a date.

[1] Christum Domini—"the Lord's Anointed."

The two tablets bearing the original black-letter description of this picture are still in the upper portion, but at present their respective positions are reversed; the first of the two occupying the place where the second was, and *vice versa*. These tablets agree verbally and entirely with the passage in the Biblia Pauperum declaring the same incident.

EXTRACT FROM THE BIB. PAUP., r. (fo. xxxvii.)

TABLET I.

(At present misplaced as II.)

"Legitur in iij.° libro Regum iij.° capite, quod venerunt due mulieres, meretrices, coram Salomone et contendebant de filiis suis, coram judice—de filio oppresso, et vivo—quod cum non posset aliter judicare, dixit dividite Infantem vivum: et." [1]

TABLET II.

(At present misplaced as I.)

"afferte mi gladium. Turbata sunt viscera matris infantis vivi, et dixit—date ei infantem vivum. Et cessabit judicare, Per Salomonem sapientissimum, Christus intelligetur—Qui judicabit justos et injustos, secundum verum judicium."

It may not be unimportant to mention that the badge of King Edward IV., floats on a white standard from the cap of the turret in the upper part of this window, above the throne of Solomon. It is a "full-faced sun," with eight wavy and eight straight rays bursting from it.

It is impossible that, after a lapse of very close on four centuries since its execution, there could be a more complete or satisfactory identification of an obscure work of Art than this. We know now perfectly with what object these windows found a place in the church, and what they are intended to symbolize in their own position there.

The great centre window now alone remains. We have finished the circuit. We stand in the presence of the grand and terrible mediæval conception of "THE DAY OF DOOM."

This window is much the largest in the church, having seven long lights divided by wide stone mullions. Like others here, it is transomed so as to exhibit an upper and a lower portion, each containing its own picture. These pictures, both that above the

[1] The last line of Tablet I. and the first of Tablet II. are transposed in the original in the Bib. Paup.

transom and that below, are carried across the window through all the lights. The design shows internal evidence, of the most indisputable kind, that it was planned to fit exactly the place it now fills. In contemplating the grand picture above the transom, the eye is conscious only of the fact that it receives the impress of great circles which glow with coloured light—undulations of glory which seem to echo the rainbow that surrounds the throne—one within another—perfectly distinct—everywhere replete with life—and that the centre of all is the Judge. But it does not strike the mind at first that this concentric arrangement throughout, from the beginning to the end, has been thoughtfully planned to fit this space, and every figure within these circles has been drawn to conform to their shape; nor is it apparent, until the details of the composition are minutely studied, that the design has been prepared so skilfully for its position, that these great concentric circles are cut at the fewest possible points by the verticle lines of the stone-work, and, in short, that this treatment has been carried through with such complete success that the mullions of stone interrupting the picture are forgotten as if they had no existence.

We have before us, as has been already said, not so much the conception of one artist as a tradition which enshrines the collective imagination of preceding ages. Outside all is a wide circle whose edges touch the window jambs on each side. This circle contains the company of Angels, of whom seven stand in descending order on either flank, supporting each a symbol of the Passion; an eighth kneels at the bottom, behind the others, watching the face of the Judge. Within this is a ring of azure. It marks the heavenly circle of the Cherubim, to whom a canon of ancient art assigned this colour. The pale blue ring is not, therefore, an accident, but has its purpose here, and it is to be observed that the clear definiteness and calmness of such a circle, contrasting with the intense brilliancy around it, leaves the impress of its own circular form broadly upon the eye unawares to the beholder. In this ring ten Cherubim with expanded wings, on either side of the throne, are intent upon the act of adoration; they rise one above

the other, all bend their fixed eyes upon the Judge. These are they to whom the theology of other days assigned the function of being the "Angels of Knowledge" before the Throne of God. Within these is the Circle of the Apostles. They are ranged half on one side and half on the other, every one bearing his own symbol, yet neither confused one with the other, nor in anywise interfering with the importance due to the central personage. There are peculiarities in the arrangement here which call for notice. The Apostles are always represented as "twelve," although the great Apostle of the Gentiles certainly raises their actual number to thirteen, but here we have their "glorious company" depicted as fourteen persons, there being seven on either side of the throne. St. Peter does not appear amongst these, his absence being significant of the fact that he is understood to exercise his allotted vocation elsewhere in this dread scene, as the Janitor of Heaven. The place in the circle which is not occupied by St. Peter is given to St. Paul, and yet higher than the persons of the Twelve are seen two other heads, being those of St. Luke and St. Mark; thus making up, in all, fourteen. Not uncommonly is Paul seen amongst the Apostles, Luke and Mark rarely so. These two saints are, however, known to have been in that position on the bronze gates of St. Paolo fuori le Muri, at Rome (now unhappily destroyed), and they may be seen occupying it in the Cathedral of Palermo—and, no doubt, elsewhere, as in the Byzantine Manual, published by Didron. The Apostles bear their distinctive symbols, and are easily recognised by means of them. No symbol is given to either Luke or Mark. The remaining portion of this circle round its upper circuit, is filled by Martyrs and Confessors, whose heads alone appear.

Inside this circle of Apostles, and encompassing the throne completely round, is the glowing circle of the Seraphim. Theirs is a wide orb of rich ruby. These heavenly beings were assigned by the ancient Church the place nearest to the throne, as the first Order of Celestial Intelligences, being "the Angels of Love," before the face of the Eternal. As the symbol of their life, the "fervour of love," the colour red was appropriated to them, as blue

to the Cherubim to signify knowledge. These receive their glory direct from the very presence, they surround the Most High on every side, gazing in fervent perpetual adoration on Him that sitteth upon the throne.

In the centre of all—separate from all—made conspicuous above all—cast into prominence by the surrounding orb of flaming Seraphim, is the form of the Judge of all Mankind, having the rainbow for his throne

One inflexible rule the tradition of mediæval artists followed in that portraiture. Whilst the Judge declares the last Doom he is invariably so seated that all His wounds are seen. The rule sprung from and enshrined a supreme truth. It ought not to have been forgotten by any to whom the restoration of such a work of art was intrusted. But it was so. The wounds appear now in the left hand only (which is old glass) and in the side; they are omitted from the right hand and the feet.

The Son of Man is arrayed in a purple mantle, His head encircled by a nimb of ruby, having upon it the fleur de lys; the rays of the sun issue in a glory from behind Him; His feet rest upon the orb of the world as a footstool, the deep red globe glows with fervent heat as it melts at His presence; towers and palaces are seen upon its face crumbling into ruins at the Advent of the Judge. Upon the right of His throne, preluding the unalterable sentence, there issues, as from His lips, a great lily inclining downwards, and on a scroll above His shoulder on that side is the word "Misericordia." Upon the left is a giant sword, also inclining downwards, and over the left shoulder another scroll, on which is written "Justicia."

At foot of the rainbow throne, at a short distance from Christ, and quite apart from his figure, kneels the Blessed Virgin as a suppliant; her hands joined in an humble attitude, her look fixed upon his face. On the opposite side, answering in position, kneels John the Baptist, in a raiment of camels' hair beneath a ruby mantle.

Below the orb of the world, below the foot of the throne, below

the two kneeling suppliants, roll the clouds of Heaven in great masses, completing and connecting the group which fills the central lights, and recalling the words "Behold He cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see Him, and they also that pierced Him."

It is almost unnecessary to add that much the largest part of the glass above the transom is a restoration. All that can be said in its favour is that it has transcribed a great tradition.

Underneath the transom is the last act of this supremest tragedy. In the centre, the Archangel Prince stands, directly below the throne. He divides the scene: on his right the Blessed enter Paradise; on his left the Damned are borne away to Hell. The face of Michael is calm and serene and beautiful as a fair woman's. On his brow an elaborate crown; his armour is golden, and over his breast are two stoles, of ruby colour, crossed. His great wings are purple, studded with green outside and faint blue within. His right hand grasps a tall cross, his left the scales of Judgment. In one scale is a human soul, in the other a crimson fiend; but the good prevails against the evil—the fiend sinks, the soul is saved!

At the feet of the Archangel the dead arise. Their shrouds are seen to fall off as they awake. These square brown patches are open graves. Angels are at hand to receive the rising dead. Some of them they bear away, risen in the air. Upon the right of St. Michael the redeemed are ascending the golden steps, on which stands St. Peter to admit them through the gateway. The figure of St. Peter, especially the head, is fine. They crowd into the Realms of Bliss, many have gone through; pressing into the gateway are two kings, crowned, a pope in the tiara, a mitred bishop, two women, and a male figure, tonsured. These figures have all received much damage. As regards execution the handling is hard, and the drawing, especially of the nude parts such as hands and feet, is particularly poor and faulty.

There were several scrolls in this composition. Most of them are displaced, though portions of some remain behind. In the head of the third light is an angel's face, around which in large

letters is "Misericordia." Below is a scroll having the words "[gratias] agamus Dn° Deo nostro." Lower down is another (now inverted) with the beginning of the Judge's sentence, "Venite Benedicti." In another panel is a versicle from the Psalms, "omnis spiritus landa Dominum." The violence to which it has at some time been ruthlessly exposed has reduced a considerable portion of this design to a mere mass of shattered fragments.

The purpose of the picture on the other side of St. Michael, which represents the lost borne away to hell, is announced by the words "judicium dampnatorum" surrounding an angel face in the head of the fifth light. Immediately below this a flying angel, whose head and hands are lost though his robe remains, once bore a scroll, still partly legible, having upon it the sentence of the Judge, "Ite maledicti in [dampnati]one[m] parata[m] vob[is]." This doom of the damned fills three lights, deepening into terrors one beyond the other. In the first of the three the conflict for the rescue of human souls is still going on. The light of Heaven has not yet given way to the lurid glare of hell. Angels bear off, in triumph, in their arms some souls out of the smoke of the pit Spirits of evil contend for them. As the scene descends lower it deepens in realistic horror. Here a woman is snatched to torment by a horned fiend; below them a fiery devil, armed with a spiked ball slung from a mace, flogs a soul onward to the pit. In the next light the flames grow redder. There is no longer an angelic struggle. Here is the torment of the damned. It is comparable for elaboration only to the realism in the poem of Dante. Above, they fall headlong into flames. Now, a fiend bears a woman off with feet and hands bound; a chain of links of steel passes over his shoulder which drags a man who resists despairingly. Are not these two who were perhaps partners in sin? Another dreadful being yoked to a cart carries for his load a fair woman, and below these an aged crone, squatted down, is driven in a wheelbarrow to endure her penalty. Flames curl and stream upward as she is hurried away. But it is in the last light the flames of hell are hottest, the terrors of all conceivable anguish are accumulated here. In the topmost

panel on the right is the "Furnace of Hell." It is circular, the courses of its masonry are visible, over its edges the damned writhe and shriek in the fiery prison. In the midst of it is its awful guardian. By its side they are impaled on stakes, one with hands and feet bound hangs bent backwards and downwards in his misery; the sharpened point pins the others through and through, one through his breast, the other through his back. Deeper down in the hell is the Mill of Torture. Revolting shapes of devilish beings are here. This is a true mill, its wheels are toothed to work one into the other, one is verticle the other horizontal; it is armed with knives to tear and rive the doomed. Its cranked handle is in the grip of a flaming fiend with eyes of glaring yellow. But there are lower depths than this. Here, still lower down, is a great tun. It is constructed of staves and hooped round with hoops, to symbolise, perhaps, the drunkards' perdition. Through a square opening in its side are seen two souls, their heads only visible; they shriek within that dungeon, flames wrap them round. Deeper yet. Here is a cauldron, huge, round, boiling and bubbling over flames of seething fire—two faces, shrunken, ashen, awe-struck, gleam above its surface; a few touches only give here a wonderful agony of everlasting despair. Fantastic shapes gleam devilish through the lurid fires, flesh hooks are in their grasp to tear their victims, trumpets also to proclaim in the deepest depths of Hell the eternal Justice of God. Lowest of all, as was the canon of mediæval art in such representations, is the mouth of the everlasting pit, a vast pair of open jaws. Into this giant mouth are sucked men and women. They rush into it headlong, horror-stricken, shrieking, refusing, but still onward and forward, ever swept into endless perdition by wild streams of flame, which lap them round and whirl them away. And then, in the uttermost depths, the dreadful King of Hell. His vast head, giant, toad-like, has savage eyes which glare out from his scaly front, the awful mouth, guarded by shark-like teeth, contains a tongue which glows with fiery heat. In his dragon claw he wields a sceptre of fire, sceptre-shaped with a fleur-de-lys head of dancing flame, his left claw rests upon his knee. Dreadful shapes,

unearthly, hideous, loathsome, blend with the eternal fires beneath, above, around, in this th lowest pit of the eternal hell.

Such is an outline of what the ancient glass-painter has expressed in all the brilliancy of colour heightened by transmitted light, and though we cannot now behold it as he drew it, yet, in the fitful changes of the English skies, the effect is often supremely impressive, and is certainly the more so in proportion as the painter's purpose has been mastered and understood.

But it will be an injustice hereafter to be regretted if we quit Fairford Church without any regard to its Clerestory. The windows of this clerestory might perhaps most fitly have been spoken of immediately after those of the aisles, for they participate largely in a similar kind of plan, and certainly no account of the glass which should overlook them could be considered as complete. There are four windows in each clerestory, having three lights a piece. There are, therefore, twelve figures on each side, and each set of twelve formed in itself a series of connected pictures woven into the church's history, and combined with no ordinary amount of definite thought and purpose on the part of the painter who designed them.

The plan of this design is rare, if not unique. On the south side are twelve notable examples of Professors of the Faith; on the north twelve Persecutors. Arranged in triplets originally, their internal relation towards each other, owing to the injuries inflicted on them, is now confused and interrupted, yet not so entirely as to obliterate their first intention. At any rate, some indications which they still retain of their original definiteness of purpose will give a clue which may be relied on as far as it leads. At the end of the south clerestory farthest from the chancel the grouped triplets in two windows remain apparently as they were at the first, and these exhibit respectively three Princes of supreme secular rank, viz., an Emperor between two Kings; and three Princes of supreme ecclesiastical rank, viz., a Pope between two Cardinals. These six figures consequently account for half of one side, and there is some ground to conjecture that the remaining

pair of triplets, those at the chancel end of this south aisle, were filled respectively by three female martyrs and three male martyrs, thus completing the series. It is impossible with any certainty to identify some of these figures, and one light in the second window has no figure left, but is now an undistinguishable mass of fragments; some others are readily recognised. In the window nearest the chancel St. Dorothea carries in one hand a vase-like wicker basket, which is her peculiar symbol, and in the other a palm, the sign of martyrdom. In the same window, St. Agnes with her lamb, cannot be mistaken; and in the second light of the next window St. Margaret stands over her dragon, although the dragon is somewhat difficult to read, even to a practised eye. These would make a triplet of female saints. As arranged at present, the central light of the first window is occupied by St. Sebastian, who is pierced by seven arrows. An archbishop can be recognised in the third light of the second window, and possibly may have been meant for St. Thomas of Canterbury. The other light here would be that which now has no figure in it. Of the three sainted Princes in the next window, the middle one is probably the Emperor Charlemagne, the others may—or may not—be St. Edward the Confessor, and St. Edmund, King and Martyr. Of the three ecclesiastics, the Pope is uncertain, one of the others is probably St. Jerome, and the other is possibly St. Peter Damianus, both these being cardinals who arrived at canonization. An attempt at interpreting the north clerestory must be very conjectural, still there is a probability that right over against the Pope and two sainted Cardinals, there were ranged a traitor Apostle between two Apostate Priests, for this triplet still consists of Judas Iscariot standing between Annas and Caiaphas, and they seem to have been placed there intentionally to face the faithful three on the opposite side of the church. There is no question of identification. Each of the three has his name, or part of his name, still visible. Annas on the green border of his blue robe; Judas across his breast; the lower half of the figure of Caiaphas has been put in the wrong way, and now does not fit the upper; his name was written as "Caiufas," and the letters "ufas" (though

seen reversed) still proclaim who was meant. In like fashion, apparently, over against the "Three Sainted Princes" there stood "Three Accursed Princes"—persecutors. One of the Herods, with "Erodes I" on his dress, fills one of these lights, and another Herod, marked with part of his name, "Erod * * *," and the letters "Beras," is in the next window. The former of these grasps an infant, into whose body he plunges a sword. On the belt of another figure is written "* * RI * * * NOR * *," and on another "PAN * * ONERONDED," but attributions are, in the other instances, extremely dubious. It is only certain that one of them bears on his sword point a decapitated head in a mitre, and may have responded to the martyred archbishop. Two bear bows, one of them perhaps faced St. Sebastian, who was shot to death with arrows; another grasps by the hair the head of a female martyr, whilst the middle light of the window nearest the chancel on the same side has a figure who bears a female head upon a spear. These may have been, therefore, answering to the triplet of Female Martyrs, and Male Martyrs, a group of the Slayers of Martyred Women, and a second group of the Slayers of Martyred Men. But this must be regarded as guess work.

Above the figures of the south clerestory are angels in the small tracery lights, and above those of the opposite side devils.

The tracery in the upper portion of the windows throughout the church is everywhere filled with characteristic small figures, both secular and ecclesiastical. They are by various hands, the strikingly wide differences of execution being, if possible, more strongly marked in them than in the greater subjects. But want of space must forbid our entering on any description of these and many other interesting details. The intention of the glass-painter in the Fairford window has been vindicated, and students of Art who may desire to study the glass more patiently will find every particular entered into at sufficient length in a work which has been published by the Arundel Society on the subject, under the sanction of the Committee of Council of Education, and which is within the reach of any enquirer at any of our great Art Libraries.

TWELVE PROPHETS.

Each carries a scroll of prophecy corresponding to one in the Creed.

MS. OF 1310.

Jeremias.—"Patrem invocabitis qui."... Cap. iii., 19.

David.—"Dñs dixit ad me, filius meus es tu."—Ps. ii., 7.

Esaias.—"Ecce Virgo concipiet et pariet."—Cap. vii., 14.

Zacharias.—"Aspicient omnes ad me quem [*confixerunt*]."—Cap. xii., 10.

TWELVE APOSTLES.

Each carries his own scroll of the Creed.

WINDOWS AND MS. OF 1310.

Petrus.—"Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem Creatorem coeli et terra."

Andreas.—"Et in Jhm̄ Cristum, filium ejus unicum dominum nostrum"

Jacobus, maj.—"Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine."

Joannes.—"Passus est sub Poncio Pilato, crucifixus mortuus et sepultus."

TWELVE PROPHETS.

Each carries a scroll of prophecy corresponding to one in the Creed.

WINDOWS.

Jheremias.—"Patrem invocabitis qui fec et condidit coelos."—Cap. iii., 19, and xxxii., 17.

David.—"Dñs dixit, En filius meus es tu. Ego hodie genui te."—Ps. ii., 7.

Esaias.—"Ecce Virgo concipiet et parie filium."—Cap. vii., 14.

Zacharias.—"Suscitabo filios tuos."—Cap. ix., 13.

(The scroll as here given should accompany the Apostle Thaddeus).

Osee.—"O mors ero mors tua."—Cap. xiii ,14.

Amos.—"Qui aedificat in coelo ascensionem."—Cap. ix., 6.

Sofonias.—"Accedam ad vos in judicio et ero [*testis velox*]."—*(Mal.)* Cap. iii., 5.

Joñel.—"Effundam de Spiritu Sancto super [*omnem carnem*]."—Cap. ii., 8.

Micheas.—"Invocabuntur omnes no[*men Dni, et servient ei*]." *(Zeph.)* Cap. iii.,9.

Malachias.—"Deponet Dominus omnes in[*iquitates nostras*]."—(*Micah*) Cap. vii., 19.

Daniel.—"Educam vos de sepulchris." *(Ezek.)* Cap. xxxvii., 12.

Ezechiel.—"Evigilabunt omnes, alii [*in vitam æternam alii in opprobrium*]." (*Dan.*) Cap. xiv., 2.

Thomas.—"Descendit ad inferna, tercia die resurrexit a mortuis."

Jacobus min.—"Ascendit ad coelos. Sedet ad dextram Dei patris omnipotentis."

Philippus.—"Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos."

Bartholomaeus.—"Credo in Spiritum Sanctum."

Matthaeus.—"Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam. Sanctorum communionem."*

Simon.—"Peccatorum remissionem."

Thaddaeus.—"Carnis resurrectionem."

Matthias.—"Et vitam aeternam. AMEN.

Oseas.—"O mors ero mors tua, morsus tuus ero, Inferne."—Cap. xiii., 14.

Amos.—"Qui aedificat in coelum ascensionem suam."—Cap. ix., 6.

Sophonias.—"Accedam ad vos in judicio et ero testis velox."—*(Malachias)* Cap. iii., 5.

Joel.—"In valle Josephat judicabit omnes gentes."—Cap. iii., 2.
(This corresponds to the scroll of S. Philip).

Micheas.—"Invocabuntur omnes eum, et servient ei."—*(Zephaniah)* Cap. iii., 9.

Malachias.—"Cum odium habueris dimitte."?

Daniel.—"Educam vos de sepulchris vestris, populo meus."—*(Ezekiel)* Cap. xxxvii, 12.

Abdias.—"Et erit regnum Domini." AMEN. Cap. ii., 21.

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* A remarkable error exists in the scroll carried, in the glass, by S. Matthæus the Apostle. This, instead of having upon it the words proper to him, repeats those peculiar to Thomas: "Descendit ad Inferna," &c. The "Sanctam Ecclesiam," which should have been borne by S. Matthæus, is not found in the windows. The inscriptions in the glass are much contracted in form, and have many *lacunæ* from injury.

ON SOME ANCIENT CHURCH PLATE AT CIRENCESTER.

BY W. J. CRIPPS, ESQ.

Read at Cirencester, 29th August, 1877.

IT WAS with some hesitation that the writer ventured to lay before the Cirencester Meeting some notes on the ancient Church Plate of that Parish, fearing that the subject might prove to be one of somewhat less than general interest. A subject that has not attracted much attention is possibly not worth it, and in the course of enquiries into the antiquities of church plate, it appeared of one parish after another that whilst zealous antiquaries had examined the peal of bells, the painted glass, the monumental brasses, the font, the mural decorations, and the carved oak rood-screen, no one had ever asked after the communion plate. The next few pages may serve to show that though church plate, perhaps owing to the fact that goldsmiths' marks are not generally understood, lies in a somewhat unexplored corner, it is as interesting as other subjects of archæological enquiry.

The misfortunes which befel the goods of the Church in England during the sixteenth century, and the simplicity of later ritual, have shortened the history of our church plate as it at present exists, a good deal, but some few historical remarks are necessary to enable us to understand what we find. It is to be feared that all the important examples of pre-Reformation art now left in England may be counted on the fingers; for the rest, cathedral and church alike possess certain simple articles of communion plate, of dates ranging from the reign of Edward VI. to the present time, varying more in their size and number, than in their design and character.

It is difficult to realise the splendour of the display that would have met the eye of him who entered one of our great cathedrals, or wealthy parish churches, on any high festival day in the three

or four centuries that preceded the Reformation. The monks were the goldsmiths of the Middle Ages ; St. Dunstan himself was the patron of the craft in England ; what wonder, then, that the Church, the nursing mother of the arts, which lent themselves in their turn to the adornment of her services, could boast of a wealth of gold and silver in her treasuries and shrines that is almost incredible.

The Episcopal constitutions which may be found recorded in Lyndwood give a long list of the church requisites of those days—a list that, in times of controversy on questions of ritualistic detail, has an enhanced interest. Suffice it to say that the evidence which remains to us in the way of archidiaconal visitations is enough to show that even country village churches were amply supplied with all that was proper. Even in the reign of Edward VI., the goods of the parish churches were of great value years after the events of his father's reign had bestowed the still greater treasures of cathedral and monastery upon the King, under the general name of "church-stuff."

It is hardly fair, then, to credit Henry VIII. and his advisers with the whole of the spoliation which was witnessed by the quarter of a century which commenced in 1536. Succeeding reigns must bear their share of the blame, for the seizure of old parish-church plate was not decided upon till the very last year of Edward VI., and its destruction was not completed without the aid of the Protestant reaction that came in with Queen Elizabeth.

A great deal, too, was made away with by the parochial authorities themselves, who, alarmed at the misfortunes which had fallen upon their more powerful neighbours, the monasteries and guilds, took advantage of the excuse afforded by the necessity of altering and adapting their churches to the new and simpler ritual, and of repairing the damage done by the destruction of painted glass, images, and all that savoured of what was called "Popish superstition," to dispose of a portion of their more valuable property to meet those extraordinary expenses. This practice became so common that the Commissioners sent through-

out England in almost every year of the reign of Edward VI. professed to take their Inventories for the purpose of ensuring the proper preservation of what was left. Indeed, their proceedings go far to show that whilst much that was valuable had been alienated by the churchwardens for repairs and other like expenses, real or pretended, neither plunder nor embezzlement from other quarters had done much harm.

But everybody knew what these Inventories really meant, and as it was increasingly doubtful how much of the money realised by such sales churchwardens would be allowed to keep, never mind what they had professedly spent it upon, they seem to have constantly represented that their churches had been broken into by thieves and robbed since the last inventory was taken. If these returns are to be believed, there was hardly a parish church in some counties which was not broken into once a year at this period.

By open and acknowledged sales, however, large quantities of Church goods came into private hands, and this disposes, to some extent, of the charges so loudly made by Heylin and Fuller of general plunder and spoliation. Both these authorities comment upon the parlours hung with altar cloths, tables and beds covered with copes, and carousing cups made of chalices; Fuller adding "As if first laying hands upon them were sufficient title unto them, seizing on them was generally the price they had payed for them."

So things went on until the last year of Edward VI., when the final step was taken of seizing on all that was then left, or nearly all, for even then the Commissioners were directed to leave in each Parish Church "one, two, or more chalices, or cuppes, according to the multitude of people."

For this course the Crown had the excuse that by this time all the repairs and alterations rendered necessary by the Reformation had been effected, and that what was still over, after making due provision for the future use of the Church, according to the simplified ritual of King Edward's second Prayer-Book, was superfluous, if not superstitious, and in either case proper for conversion to His Majesty's use.

Here, then, is the end of all the old plate, except one or two chalices in each church; and it may be asked where are they? Will not they form a remnant by which to judge the work of the ecclesiastical goldsmith of earlier times?

Alas, it must be said that they, too, have nearly all, but not quite all, perished; for whilst the instructions issued to the royal commissioners directed their preservation, the King's injunctions, followed by those of his sister, Queen Elizabeth, a few years later, and by the visitation articles of the prelates of her reign, went far by their tone, if not by their express terms, to ensure the destruction of such articles as "monuments of superstition."

Under this popular term was included everything connected with the pre-Reformation ritual, especially such things as bore sacred emblems or images, and vessels that had been used at the mass would be least of all likely to escape. The returns made by parochial authorities at one time and another in answer to the enquiries of Royal Commissioners, show us only too plainly how they were dealt with.[1]

Thus, these few remaining ancient chalices fell under the ban, and, sooner or later, got melted up into what were called "communion cups," that they might be carefully distinguished from the unreformed chalices.

Of the beautiful Gothic chalices of days prior to these events but some half-dozen remain. The writer does not know of a single one in Gloucestershire, but Somersetshire can boast of two, Oxford University of two more, one at Trinity College and the other at Corpus Christi College; Leominster has one; and there are one or two other less notable instances of them. The earliest known is at Nettlecombe, in Somersetshire, and was originally described by Mr. Octavius Morgan in "The Archæologia."[2] A few of the

[1] Those who are interested in the subject may consult the Returns made by the Commissioners of the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, many of which are preserved in the Public Record Office. Some of these have been printed in the Transactions of the Norfolk, Surrey, Kent, and other Archæological Societies; Peacock's "*Church Furniture;*" and Cripps' "*Old English Plate.*" To Mr. Murray, the publisher of the latter work, we are indebted for the illustrations to this paper.

[2] Vol. xlii., 405.

earliest Protestant communion cups, made under these circumstances in the reign of Edward VI., are extant; two of them are still the property of the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster.

What a change had taken place! Instead of the small and exquisitely shaped bowl, on a Gothic stem, adorned with a crucifix engraven or enamelled, we have an immense cup wholly unadorned with any emblem whatever, but adapted by its size for the administration of the wine to the laity, a return to the early practices of the Church, which was finally directed at the meeting of Convocation in 1562.

Most of these cups, however, soon shared the fate of the chalices which preceded them, for they were, of course, quite unfit for the restored ritual of Queen Mary's reign, and in the result they are as rare as the chalices.

We now come to the more settled reign of her sister, Elizabeth, when the last of the chalices disappeared, with the exception of the half dozen examples above mentioned, which must have owed their preservation to some favouring local circumstance in each case, for such things were hunted even out of private houses and private hands whenever it was possible. During the first years of the Queen's reign, inclination and injunction seemed to work in harmony, and every parish vied with its neighbour in the haste with which it melted up what remained of its plate, and procured a communion cup for future use.[1] Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, enquired of his clergy in 1569, "whether they do minister in any prophane cups, bowls, dishes, or chalices heretofore used at masse, or els in a decent communion cup provided and kept for the same purpose only." Even as late as 1576, Archbishop Grindal found it necessary to enquire of incumbent and churchwarden "Whether you have in your parish churches or chapels a fair and comely communion cup of silver, and a cover of silver for the same, which may serve for the ministration of the communion bread."

[1] In the Churchwarden's accounts of the parish of St. Petroc, Exeter, for 1571, occurs the following item:—"Paid Iohn Ions, goldsmith, for changing the Chalice into a Cup, £1 15s. 5d." The cup bears this maker's mark, | I | | IONS |, a mark frequently found on Exeter plate.—[ED.]

And not only were they so provided, but it is of interest to know that in many a Gloucestershire church the very same "fair and comely communion cup" is in existence and in use at the present day.

The magnificent cups belonging to Cirencester Church are of 1570, and were procured under these circumstances, though they are not quite of the usual pattern but of the fashion of the somewhat earlier cups of the reign of Edward VI., which are larger and plainer than those of later date.

This variation, is, however, accounted for by the curious fact that the Cirencester cups prove to have been made by the very same London goldsmith as the earlier cups at St. Margaret's, Westminster, which are of the year 1552, and are, perhaps, of a pattern long established in his particular workshop.

Elizabethan cups of the ordinary type are to be found broadcast, and in most cases carefully preserved and valued, over the whole length and breadth of England. There are sixteen, if not more, within a walk of Cirencester, and as many in one county as in another. Examples may be found at Preston, Daglingworth, Kemble, Avening, Barnton, Cricklade, Somerford Keynes, Winchcombe, and many other places in the diocese of Gloucester.

The one curious feature about these interesting cups is, that go where you will, North, South, East, or West, near London or far away, the ornamentation upon them is invariably the same. A simple double belt running round the bowl, crossed or interlaced at intervals, and having in the space between the bands an undulating tendril of foliage resembling the common woodbine, which is the only decoration they bear, though it varies in its degree of elaboration and finish.

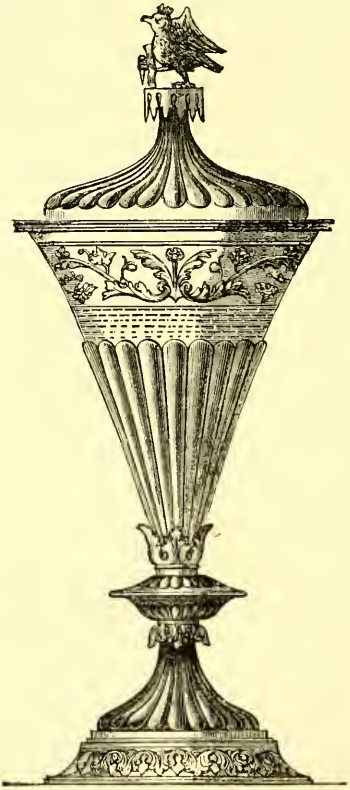
It is singular that no authority or direction has ever been found prescribing this pattern or style of ornament. The Statutes, the Proceedings of Convocation, Canons, Constitutions, Injunctions of all kinds, the pages of Burnet and Strype, and the Registers of the Privy Council, have been searched in vain for any specific direction that would account for an extraordinary uniformity of shape and pattern that could have hardly been the result of the taste or caprice of churchwarden or silversmith. There is one suggestion open, and that is, that as the cups with this particular pattern of belt are found in 1562 and onwards, but not earlier, some regulation or recommendation on the subject, though unrecorded, may have emanated from the Convocation held in London in that year, at which many important matters concerning the doctrine, rites, and discipline of the Church were settled. True, it may be said that if such order were taken in Convocation, the records would show it, but the direction must have come from somewhere, almost

certainly in 1562, and our conjecture will have answered a good purpose if it should elicit some better one. No long time ago it was generally thought that these cups were all made to order, and issued one to each parish by Government, under an Act of Parliament. It is hardly necessary to say that there is no such Act in existence. They are of provincial as well as London make; plenty come from York, Exeter, and Norwich, and they bear the private marks of a multitude of different makers. Again, though there is this curious general likeness, no two are exactly alike; there are interesting local peculiarities to be observed in the fashion adopted at Exeter, and also at Norwich, and there is here in Gloucestershire everything from a tall vessel more than a foot high, like those at Cirencester, to the tiny cup of some Cotswold village weighing no more than five or six ounces, and destitute of all ornament but the usual belt scratched as rudely as if with the point of a knife by the village smith. Such are still in use at Winstone and Baunton, villages near Cirencester. Between these two extremes of size come the beautiful specimens that are preserved at Preston and Kemble.

Well would it be if fewer such cups were seen in the windows of the modern silversmith. Many, if not most of them, are made of the very same silver as the more ancient chalices that they replaced, a vessel that has perchance belonged to its parish from time immemorial. It is to be feared that they are constantly parted with for the mere price of the silver, by those who are ignorant, or regardless, of the curious historical associations which surround these interesting relics.

Of more modern cups there is little to be said. They are of plain shape, plainer and ruder as we get towards the end of the seventeenth century; those of the reign of Queen Anne are a little more uniform, with narrower and cylindrical bowls. An example at Coates is a good illustration of the fashion of the earlier part of the eighteenth century. It is part of the communion plate presented to that parish by Louise, Lady Atkins, a sister of the then rector, and widow of the great county historian, Sir Robert Atkins.

All rules have exceptions, and this holds good in the case of church chalices. Besides the forms already mentioned, cups of exceptional shape are occasionally found, amongst them some of great excellence; sometimes they are secular drinking cups, that have been devoted by the piety and liberality of their owners to more sacred purposes.[1] We may safely say that the most beautiful of all these is a cup at Cirencester, which is of almost priceless value and of unique interest, for it must have been made for some member of the Boleyn family, and in all probability made for the unfortunate Anne Boleyn herself.



[1] There is a very fine example of a cup of this kind used as a Communion Cup at St. Maben, in Cornwall. It is of elegant form, 13-ins. in height, the cover being surmounted by a boy, nude, holding a shaped-shield. The mouth of the cup is 3½-ins. in diameter. The bowl and cover

Its cover is surmounted by the badge of her family—the crowned falcon and sceptre—and an examination of the goldsmith's mark proves the year of its manufacture to have been 1535, being the year before her execution.

The badge had, many years ago, attracted the notice of the Rev. E. A. Fuller, and upon his authority the cup has long been credited with a royal descent, which goes far, be it said, to account for its coming into the possession of the parish of Cirencester.

It will be remembered that the eventual grantee of the lands of the Abbey of Cirencester in 1565 was Dr. Richard Master, physician to Queen Elizabeth, and it will also be remembered that the custom of giving New Year's gifts by the sovereign to every member of her court was, at that day, invariable; as invariable as the return of a present of equal or greater value by the subject, a point to which the attention of the court officials seems to have been carefully directed. A cup was the usual royal gift, and Dr. Master must have been the recipient of several. What more probable than that some amongst the cups issued from the royal treasury on these occasions bore the badge of the queen's unfortunate mother or the family to which she belonged, and that such a cup given one New Year's day to Dr. Master was afterwards presented by him to the church of the parish which he and his descendants from that time to this have made their home.

We should now turn to the Communion flagons, which are of the year 1576, and are of the same interest as the cups, for they represent the earliest form of flagon introduced after the Reformation.

are engraved in arabesque style, with birds and foliage—the birds consisting of two storks, and another bird—and the stem and foot are ornamented in reponsée work. It bears the hall-mark of 1576, the maker's mark being a pair of compasses, enclosing a mullet, on an oblong-shaped die.—(*Hist. of Trigg Minor, vol.* I., *p.* 469). This device is not mentioned in Cripps' valuable hand-book, "Old English Plate." The cup was probably presented to the Church by one of the Godolphin family, a branch of which resided in the parish about the middle of the 17th century.—Ed.

They are usually found in pairs, and this is not so much because one such vessel would not have served the purpose, as attributable to the fact that they in a sort of way succeeded to the cruets or phials of pre-Reformation use, which were always in pairs, and often labelled with the letters V and A respectively, standing the V for "vinum" and the A for "aqua." After the date of the Canons of 1603, which prescribed the use of a "stoup or pot," this pattern gave way to the tall straight-sided flagon, which from

that time is almost invariably found. The earliest of the later pattern in the neighbourhood of Cirencester is one of 1683, at Ampney Crucis, and the earliest known to the writer is of the year 1618, and belongs to Gray's Inn Chapel, in London. It may interest us to know that the flagons at Rendcombe, Gloucestershire, are of the same fashion and nearly as fine as those at Cirencester—being of 1592—and that amongst the latest are those at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, which are of the year 1613.

Note.—Since this article has been in type, a very interesting paper on "Elizabethan Communion Plate," from the pen of the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, has appeared in the "Archæological Journal," Vol. xxxv., p. 44.—Ed.

SEIZURE OF ARMS IN THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER IN 1684.

BY

SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A.,

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, &c. &c.

Read at Cirencester, 29th August, 1877.

GREAT religious and political excitement disturbed this country during the latter part of the reign of King Charles II. Intrigues and conspiracies, plots and counter-plots, were of constant occurrence. In 1669 the Duke of York acknowledged his conversion to Romanism, and, in consequence, became an object of aversion to many persons. Some years afterwards a Bill even passed the House of Commons to exclude him from the throne. The King's illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth, was set up as his rival, and around these personages, respectively, conspiracies gathered. In 1682 the Duke of Monmouth made a progress through the country of almost royal splendour, which gave grave offence, and he was held to bail. In the following year the plot called the Rye House Plot was discovered, having for its alleged object the assassination of the King and Duke of York and securing the Crown to the Duke of Monmouth. The Earl of Essex, Lord William Russell, Lord Howard of Escrick, Algernon Sydney, and others were arrested, but the Duke of Monmouth escaped and fled into Holland; Lord Essex died in the Tower, but Russell and Sydney were executed. The Duke of Monmouth was afterwards pardoned and returned to Court. He made a confession of his offences, which, having afterwards endeavoured to explain away, he was again banished, and retired to Holland. This left the Duke

of York in the ascendant. In 1684 much disquietude continued to prevail, and the Lords Lieutenants of the several Counties were directed to seize the arms of persons disaffected to the Government. This was communicated to Lord Dartmouth, Master-General of the Ordnance, by the Earl of Sunderland, Principal Secretary of State, on the 2nd June, with instructions that such of the arms as were useful for arming the Militia should be kept for that purpose, and that the rest should be sent to such places as were mentioned in a certain list enclosed. In respect to the county of Gloucester, the arms were directed to be left in the charge of Mr. Nicholas Webb, Postmaster, at Gloucester.

It is not unlikely that, to a great extent, the names of the persons suspected were derived from a document discovered among the papers of the Earl of Shaftesbury upon their seizure in 1681. It contained a list of friends and opponents in every shire, alphabetically arranged under the respective heads of "worthy men," and "men worthy" ["of hanging, as was understood"]

The schedule of the arms seized shows but a very indifferent collection. Many of them consist of old blunderbusses, swords without scabbards, and other useless and obsolete weapons, fowling-pieces, &c., and leads to the conclusion that the suspected persons were very badly armed, or succeeded in eluding the Government search :—

An Accompt of Armes, Armour, and Ammunition Seized and taken from Dangerous & disaffected persons in ye Several Cittys and Counties, and in the Several Places hereafter mentioned, viz.,

Civit. Bristoll.—

James Holloway & Moxon House	Firelock	1
	Bandaleers	1, & 1 Buffe
	Swords	2
	Foils	3
Oliver Moseley	Fowling-piece	1
	Rapiers	2

Alex. Thompson	Pike	1
	Cutlesse	1
	Belt	1
	Long Gun	1
Jn°. Washburough	Partizan	1
	Hanger	1
	Rapier	1
	Belt	1
Mr. Jn°. Richardson	Rapiers	1
	Brass Pistoll	1
Mr. Ric. Higgins	Brass Pistoll without a lock	1
	Pike	1
Mr. Walding	Fire Armes	2
	Pistoll	1
	Rapier	1
Mr. Tho. Speed	ffowling-pieces	2
	ffirelocks	1
	Sword	1
Robert Churchman	Firelock	1
Ozziell Browne	Sword	1
Mr. Thomas Scroope	Fire Armes	2
	Swords	2
	Bandaleers	1
	Belt	1
Symon Stoakes	Pike	1
	Belt	1
	Sword	1
Robert Bodenham	ffire Armes	27
	Swords	9
	Belt	1
	Bandaleers	1
David Phillipps	ffirelocks	1
William Weaver	Musquetts	2
	Carbine	1
	Backswords	3
	Bandaleers	2 setts
	Belts	2
	Partizan	1
Thomas Vezey	Musquett	1
	Swords	2
	Bandaleers	2 setts
	Belt	1
Thomas Evans	Bill	
Jn°. Cumberbatch	Musquetts	2
	Sword	1

Benj. Warren	Pike	1	
	Sword	1	
Emanuell Feather	Sword	1	
	Belt	1	
Symon Tovey	Musquett	1	
	Bandaleers	1	
	Sword	1	
	Belt	1	
Jn°. Deverell	Partizan	1	
Danll. Fletcher	Halbert	1	
	Sword	1	
	Bandaleers	1	sett
..... Badger	Rapier	1	
Edward Tucker	Swords	2	
	Bandaleers	1	sett
Thomas Hall	Halbert	1	
William Wakes	Musquett	1	
	Bandaleers	1	
	Swords	1	
Thomas Saunders	Musquetts	1	
	Pistolls	1	pair
	Swords	3	
	Belts	2	
	Bandaleers	2	setts
Anthony Wood	Pike	1	
	Musquett	1	
	Bandaleers	1	sett
	Sword	1	
Godfrey ffanathram	Musquett	1	
	Bandaleers	1	sett
	Sword	1	
..... Barnes	Sword	1	
	Bandaleers	1	
William Shepherd	Musquett	1	
	Birding-piece	1	
	Rapier	1	
	Collor Bandaleer	1	
	Belt	1	
Widdow Deane	Musquett	1	
	Bandaleers	1	
	Sword	1	
	Belt	1	
John Bond	Bandaleer	1	collo'
John Mott	Musquetts	2	
	Swords	2	
	Pike	1	

Hugh Cornish	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
	Belt	1
	Bandaleers	1
John Tucker	Swords	2
	Pike	1
Abell Edwards	Sword	1
	Belt	1
Henry Glisson	Musquett	1
	Bandaleers	1
	Sword	1
	Belt	1
Robert Henley	Rapier	1
	Hanger	1
	ffowling-piece	1
Charles Plummer	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
	Belt	1
	Bandaleers	1
Mr. Walter Stephens	Musquett	1
	Pike	1
	Swords	2
	Pistolls and Holsters	1 pair
Erasmus Dole	Brass Gunn	1
Thomas Morgan	Pike	1
	Sword	1
Benjamin Adlam	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
	Bandaleers	1
James Cole	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
George Lott	Musquet	1
	Sword	1
	Bandaleers	1
John Bowman	Musquett	1
John Day	Pike	1
	Sword	1
Richard Legg	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
	Bandaleers	1
Henry Parsons	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
John Saunders	Pike	1
	Musquett	1
	Bandaleers	1
	Swords	2

Mr. Henry Roe	Musquett	1
	Back Rapier	1
Mr. ffrancis ffowle	Pike	1
Richard Higgins	Musquett	1
	Birding Piece	1
	Rapiers	2
	Back Sword	1
	Long Back Rapier without Scabbard	1
Mr. ..... Bright	Pike	1
	Scimiter, without scabbard	1
Mr. Samll. Hunt	Musquett	1
	Hanger	1
George Williams	Sword without a scabbard	1
Willm. Dickason	Musquett	1
	Rapier	1
Mr. Michll. Pope	Hanger	1
Mr. Henry Gibbs	Pikes	2
Mr. John Hurne	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
	Bandaleers	1
Widdow Driver & Mr. Whetstone	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
	Belt	1
Gregory Bush	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
	Hanger	1
Mr. Henry Gibbs	Pikes	2
Mr. Sheward	Pike	1
Jno. Hardiman, Junr.	Pike	1
	Sword	1
Mr. Humphrey Cossley	Pike	1
	Swords	3
	Musquett	1
William Window	Pike	1
	Sword	1
Thomas Wall	Pike	1
	Sword	1
Anthony Bullock	Pike	1
	Sword	1
Richard Paine	Pike	1
	Sword	1

Samll. Jacob	Musquett	1
	Pike	1
	Swords	2
Thomas Baily	Pike	1
	Sword	1
Robert Curtis	Pike	1
Thomas Saunders	Pike	1
Richard Dennis	Pike	1
	Sword	1
Samll. Greenway	Pike	1
Mr. Rawleigh Sadler	Pike	1
James Swettnam	Pike	1
Mr. Roycraft	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
James ffreeman, Jun.	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
Giles Gough	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
	Pistoll	1
Phillip Read	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
Samll. Hollister	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
Thomas Edwards	Blunderbuss	1
	Musquetts	2
	Swords	3
Andrew June	Musquett	1
John Harris	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
Mr. Alexr. Dolman	Blunderbuss	1
	Pistolls	2
Mr. Summers	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
Charles Jones	Birding-piece	1
John Grant	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
	Belt	1
	Bandaleer	1
Samll. Tether	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
	Belt	1
	Bandaleers	1

..... Harris	Birding-piece	1
	Pike	1
Mr Whitehead	Musquetts	2
	Small Gunn	1
	Swords	2
Mr. Rositer	Sword	1
John Poole	Musquett	1
	Sword	1
	Bandaleers	1
James Symms	Pistolls	1 pair
	Sword	1
Edmd. Reddish	Pike	1
	Swords	2
	Bandaleers	1 pair
	Holsters	1 pair
Henry Gibbs	Musquetts	2
	Bandaleers	1 pair
	Swords	2
Dr. Jno. Griffith	Musquett	1
	Bandaleers	1 pair
John Roworth	Pike	1
	Sword	1
	Belt	1
Daniell Gwillam	Birding-piece	1
	Backsword	1
Edward Martindale	Musquett	1
	Bandaleers	1 pair
	Sword	1
	Belt	1
Thomas Skinker	Musquett	1
	Rapier	1
	Pistoll	1
	Bandaleers	1 pair
Richard Hort	Pike	1
Jno. Atwood	Musquett	1
	Bandaleers	1 pair
Jno. Hollister	Musquett	1
	Halberts	2
James Wallis	Musquet	1
	Sword	1
	Belt	1
	Bandaleers	1 pair
Thomas Snelgrove	Musquet	1
	Bandaleers	1 pair
	Rapier	1

Joseph Whitney	Musquet	1	
	Sword	1	
	Bandaleers	1	collo'
John Williamson	Musquet	1	
	Sword	1	
	Bandaleers	1	pair
	Belt	1	
Thomas Dapwell	Pike	1	
	Rapier	1	
	Buffe Belt	1	
Henry Sampson	Musquet	1	
	Sword	1	
	Belt	1	
	Halbert	1	
	Bandaleers	1	collo'
John Packer	Musquet	1	
	Hanger	1	
	Belt	1	
	Bandaleers	1	collo'
Joseph Thompson	Hanger	1	
	Belt	1	
	Rapier	1	
	Pike	1	
Joseph Hyde	Musquet	1	
	Bandaleers	1	collo'
John Rendall	Pike	1	
William Bathe	Musquett	1	
	Hanger	1	
	Bandaleers	1	collo'
Edward Baugh	Pikes	1	
	Sword	1	
	Belt	1	
	Birding Piece	1	
Richard Hellier, &	Pike	1	
..... Waterford	Sword	1	
..... Noble	Hanger	1	
Edward Terrill	Musquett	1	
	Pike	1	
	Bandaleers	1	collo'
	Sword	1	
	Belt	1	
Henry Hang	Musquett	1	
	Bandaleers	1	collo'
	Hanger	1	
	Belt	1	
John Hall	Sword	1	
	Belt	1	
	Bandaleers	1	collo'

Thomas Edwards	Musquett	1
	Bandaleers	1 collo'
	Sword	1
Nathaniell Sneid	Pike	1
	Sword	1
	Belt	1
Thomas Scroope	Musqts wch. were taken at Gunsmiths	27

County of Gloucester :

Sr. Jno. Guise	Backs, Breasts, & Head-peeces	19 each
	Gauntletts	4
	Cases of Pistolls,	9, & 1 odd
	Musquett	1
	ffowling Gunns	3
	Backsword	14
Mr. Jno. Langley	Cases of Pistolls	2
Mr. Wickham	Cases of Pistolls	2
	Swords	2
Mr. Creswicks	Cases of Pistolls	1
	Holster	1
	ffowling Gunn	1
Moses Jacock	Case of Pistolls	1
	Headpeece	1
	Swords	2
Jeremy Holway	Carbine	1
	Hanger	1
Mr. Clerke	Cases of Pistolls	2
	Sword	1
	Hanger	1
	Holsters	1 pair
	Musquett	1
Mr. Hancock	Back, Breast, & Head-peece	1 each
Morris Hames	Musquett	1
	Case of Pistolls	1
	Pockett Pistoll	1
	Rapier	1
Olliver Brooke, of Old Sodbury	Cases of Pistolls	2
	Birding-peeces	3
	Swords	2
	Blunderbuss	1
Wm. Rider, of Nymphsfield	Musquett	1
	Pike	1
	Buffe Coat	1

Tho. Horde, Esq.	Cases of Pistolls	3
	Complt. Suite of Armor	1
	Blunderbusses	2
	Musquetts	2
	Rapiers	2
	Halberts	3
	Backsword	1
	Plate Sword	1
	Black-hilted Sword	1
	Carbine	1
	Buffe Coat	1
Tho. Small, of Avening	Small Birding Gunns	2
	Rapier	1
Willm. Hollyday, of Redborough	Musquetts	8
	ffowling Gunn	1
	Case of Pistolls	1
	Collo' of Bandaleers	8
	Rapiers	2
	Hangers	2
John Bernard, of Stonehouse	Case of Pistolls	1
	Birding Gunn	1
Franeis Bennett, of Stonehouse	Birding Gunn	1
Wm. Clutterbuck, of Estington	ffowling Gunn	1
	Birding Gunn	1
	Back, Breast, & Pott	1 each
	Back Sword	1
	Rapier	1
Mr. Charles Trinder, of Burton-on-ye-Water	Case of Pistolls	1
	ffowling-peece	1
	Birding-peece	1
	Blunderbuss	1
	Back, Breast, & Head-p'ce	1 each
	Rapier	1
Mr. Hall, of Broad Risington	Case of Pistolls and Holsters	1
	Case of Peckt Screw'd Pistolls	1
	ffowling Gunn	1
	Birding Gunn	1
	Swords	2
Mr. Tho. Hayward, of Broad Risington	Case of Pistolls & Holsters	1
	Hanger	1
	Musquett	1
	Sword & Belt	1 each
	Collor of Bandaleers	1
Reginald Bray, of Barrington, Esqr.	ffowling Gunn	1
	Blunderbuss	1
	Bullett Gunns	2
	more,	1 screwd
	Birding Guns	1
	Silver Hilted Sword	1
	Hanger	1

Benjamin Baron, of Westcott, Esq.	Musquetts	8
	Collors of Bandaleers	4
	Cases of Pistolls and Holsters	2
	Swords	2
	Hangers	2
	Back, Breast, & Head-p'ce	1 each
	Carbine	1
Mr. Wm. Lord, of Bleddington	Fowling Gunn	1
	Screw'd Birding Gun	1
	Pockett Pistoll	1
	Swords	2
S. Robert Atkins, of Lower Swell	Swords	6
	Hanger	1
	Cases of Pistolls	2
	Blunderbusses	2
	ffowling Gunn	1
	Birding Gunn	1
Mr. Easton, of Batsford	Case of Pistolls	1
	Long Gunns	2
	Short Gunn	1
	Pockett Pistoll	1
Sr. Tho. Overbury[3]	Musquetts	2
	Carbine	1
	Case of Pistolls	1
	Sword	1
	Back, Breast, & Head-p'ce	1 each
Mr. Mariot, of Astcott	Musquett	1, & 6 new
	Long Gunn	1, wthout lock
	Cases of Pistolls	2
	Carbine	1

In ye Towne of Cirencester:

In ye Church in a Chest, & left there by Ralph Willet and Robt. Parry, Church Wardens.	Musquett Bullets	1 C. weight
Mr. Cheequell, Junr.	Sword & Belt	1 each
	Bandalr. & Musqt.	1 each
Edward Kinge	Birding Gunn	1
	Sword	1
	Bandaleers	1
Francis Ebsworth	Halbert	1
Willm. Druett	Old Sword	1
Wm. Hinton	Sword & Scabbert	1 each

Edwd. Clutterbuck	Musquett	1
	Bandaleers	1
	Sword	1
	Belt	1
	Old Pistoll	1
Alexander Broad	Musquett	1
	Bandaleers	2 setts
	Sword	1
Humphry Palmer	Sword	1
John Edwards, of ye Barton	Case of Pistols & Holstrs.	1
	Carbine	1
	Buffe Coate	1
	ffowling Peices	2
Richard Noah	Little Birding Gunn	1
Miles Sandys	Birding Peice	1
Thomas Groves	Musquett	1
	Little Case of Pistolls	1
Ambrose Smith	Old Swords	2
	Scabbert	1
Wm. Clerk	Hanger	1
	Backsword Blade	1
Wm. Ebsworth	Birding Gunn	1
Thomas Roberts	Musquett	1
	Backsword	1
James Tull	Musquett	1
James Burge	Old Bill	1
Ralph Willett	Sword wthout Scabbt.	1 old
Dr. Marchale	Sword wthout Scabbert	1 old
Anto. Archard	Sword	1
	Musquett	1
	Bandaleers	1
Widdow Selfe	Swords	2
	Halfe Pike	1
John Greenway	Old ffowling Gunn	1
	Swords	2
	Pistoll	1
Henry Greenway	Case of Pistolls	1
	Holsters	1 pair
	Birding Gunn	1

The Armes following were seized by Lieut. Wm. Braine, ye names of ye persons from whom they were taken being not yet returned :

Blunderbusses	4
Gunns, of sorts	32
Pistolls	19
Swords	9
Back	1
Breast	1
Head-peece	1
Collor of Bandaleers	1
Coller for Bandaleers	1

LOCAL NAMES NEAR CIRENCESTER,

BY

GEORGE H. MOBERLY, M.A.,

Rector of Duntesborne Rous.

English place-names are mostly composed of two, and only two, elements.[1] Of these two elements, in the large majority of names, both are Anglo-Saxon. In all but the northern counties this is so in such a way as quite to establish, from the evidence of local names alone, the overwhelming character of the Anglo-Saxon conquest. But it is well known that in Wales the names are purely Keltic; and in these west-midland counties there is a small proportion, not only of purely Keltic names, but of names mixed of Keltic and Saxon elements. In names of the last mentioned kind, the Keltic is invariably found as the first, the Saxon as the last of the two components.

In the district of South Gloucestershire (about fifty square miles) which I propose to examine in this respect, the percentage is as follows: *seventy-six* of pure Saxon names, *fifteen* of mixed Keltic and Saxon, and only *nine* of pure Keltic. It should be added that this last class is more or less doubtful, and perhaps the names under it might all be referred to one or other of the two other classes.

[1]Of course there are a few monosyllabic local names, both Keltic and Saxon: *e.g.*, Side, Coates, &c. But I cannot agree with those who think they see evidence of *three* components in some of our local names; who, for example, would interpret *Cynemæresford* [Kempsford] as "The king's famous ford," instead of "Cynemær's ford;" or "*Calmundesdene*" Calmsden] as "The hollow of the chieftain's mound" instead of "Ceolmund's hollow."

I. Pure Saxon Names.

The last syllable of Saxon names describes either (1) the nature of the ground, as *ley* (meadow), *combe*[1] (gorge), *den* (valley); or (2) the character of the settlement; as *ton* (village), *cot*[2] (cottage), *bury* (castle), *worth* (farm), *stone* (stone-building).

i. *Terminations describing the nature of the ground.*

A. Five places in the neighbourhood end in *ley* (meadow).

i. *Bisley* [Biselege in Domesday]. For the first syllable of this name I never yet heard a satisfactory derivation; I can only suggest that it probably is akin to the first syllable of *Bussage*, three miles from Bisley.

ii. *Coberley* [Coberleie, Domesday]. In the Annals of Gloucester Abbey, this is Cudberlei, evidently "Cuthbert's lea."

iii. *Cowley* [Kulege, Dd.; the other Gloucestershire Cowley being Couuelege, Dd.] "cow-lea."

iv. *Oakley* [Achelie, Dd.] "oak-lea."

v. *Overley*, apparently the "over" or "upper-lea," the counterpart to some forgotten "Nether-ley."

[1] Many are of opinion that this is but the Keltic word for a valley—*cwm*. No doubt when the Saxons invaded Gloucestershire they found many of their future *combes* already designated as *cwms* in Welsh; but the reason which makes me cling to the opinion that the Saxons did not simply borrow the word from their dispossessed neighbours, is that it is akin to other words in Saxon and other Teutonic tongues, which cannot be thus accounted for. It seems to have meant both a stream [cf. Saxon, *cimban*, to join] and the valley through which it flows, [cf. Norse, *kumpr*, a bowl]. Perhaps if the pedigree of the word were ascertained, it would be found to be derived from some Aryan root, the stock from which both the Keltic and Teutonic families of languages branched off.

[2] Many think rather that this is a mere transliteration of the Keltic *coed*, a wood; but for the fact that the word had an existence and the meaning I have attributed to it, in Saxon, see Bosworth's Saxon Dictionary. "Cota, cyta, an, *m*; cote, an, *n*, [*Low Dutch*, kate, *f*; *Frisian and Dutch*, kot, *n*; *German*, kathe, *f*; kath, koth, *n*; *Danish*, koje, *common*; *Swedish*, kette, *m*, koja, *f*; *Icelandic*, kot, *n*, villula, kota, *f*, particula domus secreta; *Welsh*, cwt; *Finnish*, cota; *Lapp*, kaate], a cot, cottage, den, cave, bed, couch."

B. One place ends in *combe* (gorge).

Stancombe, (an extinct hamlet to the east of the Three Mile Bottom on the Gloucester Road), "stone-gorge." It probably derived its initial syllable from the fact that it is on a Roman road.

C. Three places end in *den* [Sax., dene, denu], a valley.

i. *Bagendon;* for, though now spelt with an "o" in the last syllable, the name is often found in deeds of the thirteenth century, spelt "Bagingedene," and the remarkable valley in which it lies is quite sufficient to account for the name. Of the first component I am not sure, though Kemble ["Saxons in England," vol. i, p. 457] suggests that it may have been the "mark" inhabited by "Bæcgingas."

ii. *Calmsden.* This in the Codex Diplomaticus is written Calmundesdene, which I interpret as "Ceolmund's valley;" what was "Ceol" in the north of England would naturally be "Cal" further south. The name Cholmondeley, co. Cheshire, is written "Calmundelei," in Domesday.

iii. *Marisden*, now a farm with cottages to the right hand of the road to Cheltenham. The first syllable here seems to be "mære" or mark, limit; for the northern limit of Rendcombe parish here starts from the Churn in a north-easterly direction, which it preserves for about a mile.

2. *Terminations describing the character of the settlement.*

A. Seven places end in *ton* (village). Of these, two seem to be named from the proper names of their first possessors:—

i. *Rodmarton* [Redmertone, Dd.] "Hruodmar's village."

ii. *Winson* [Winestune, Dd.] "Wina's village."

One from the profession of its possessor:—

iii. *Preston* [Prestetune, Dd.] "priest's village."

One from its position:—

iv. *Siddington* [Sudintone, Dd.], "village south of the city."

And three which I cannot account for.

v. *Tarlton* [Torentone, Tornentone, Dd.].

vi. *Baunton* [Baudintone, Dd.].

vii. *Saperton* [Saperetune, Sax.]. I cannot etymologize the first component. The last is *ton*, in spite of the fact that Domesday (not an infallible guide to the spelling of names, but only to their proximate pronunciation) calls it "Sapletorne."

B. Two places end in *cot* (cottage).

i. *Norcott* [Nortcote, Dd.], "cottage north of the city."

ii. *Woodmancot*, perhaps "Godmund's cottage."

To which must be added *Coates*, a name which does not appear in Domesday.

C. Two places end in *bury* ("byrig," "burh," a castle).

i. *Pimbury* [Penneberie, Dd., Pendebur, Taxatio P. Nich]. Probably Penda's burgh," or the Castle of Penda, King of Mercia, who, in carrying his arms southwards, was checked at Cirencester by the Kings of Wessex, A.D., 628, and thenceforth confined himself to the northern side of the Thames.

ii. *Trewsbury* [Tursberie, Dd.] Perhaps "Thor's burgh," of which castle the ruins may still be seen. Its disappearance from among the parishes may be accounted for by the probable fact that the conventual church at Coates came to be used for the parish church at Trewsbury.

D. Three places end in *worth* ("farm.")

i. *Daglingworth* [unknown to Domesday; perhaps included in Duntesborne, which from the fact of its being mentioned as often as[1] any other single place in the county, seems to have been larger then than now] probably "Dagla's farm," as that will account for the "n" (Daglan, genitive of Dagla) better than the usual derivation, "hidden (degol) farm." Kemble ["Saxons in England," vol. i., p. 462] derives it from the mark of the Dæglingas, in favour of which derivation it is to be said that the only old

[1]Duntesborne is mentioned nine times in Domesday; Amney, nine times; no other place more than four times. 21¾ hides are reckoned to Duntesborne; 37 hides to Amney.

spelling of the name that I have been able to find retains the medial syllable "ing;" viz.: "Dagelingworth" (Taxatio P. Nich., A.D. 1291) "Dagelyngworth" (Abbrev. Rotulorum Originalium).

ii. *Edgeworth* [Egeisuurde, Egeswurde, Dd.], probably "Egge's farm."

iii. *Chedworth* [Cedeorde, Dd.] "Chad's farm." Perhaps from Ceadda (Chad), bishop of Mercia, with his seat at Lichfield, who died A.D. 672. It will be noticed that this is not fifty years after A.D. 628, when (as was said above) all the country to the Thames was conquered for Mercia by Penda.

E. Two places end in *stone* (stone-building).

i. *Elkstone* [Elchestane, Dd.]

ii. *Winstone* [Winestan, Dd.] "Wina's stone-building" It should be noticed that both these villages are upon the Roman road to Gloucester; and that by far the larger proportion of English compounds with *stone* are in a like situation. From this I infer that the situation upon the road was what suggested the termination of the name.

One name, besides, though Saxon in both its parts, is compounded with a word derived to the Saxon language from Latin, a relic of the Roman occupation of the island. *Stratton* [Stratone, Dd.] is a word meaning "street-village," the village on the *stratum* or Roman road, which the Saxons called Ermin-street. It is one of the commonest compounds in England. There are twenty-three Strattons and Strettons, twelve Stratfords and Stretfords, besides other compounds, all meaning that the place is on one of the Roman roads with which Britain was so thickly intersected.

This leads naturally to the

HYBRID OR BILINGUAL NAMES, regularly formed with the first syllable Keltic and the last Saxon. There are five such in this neighbourhood: three obviously, and four, perhaps, really, with the Keltic names of rivers as their first component. It is well known that almost all the rivers in England have Keltic names.

i. The first place must be given to *Cirencester* [Cirenceaster, Cyrenceastre, Sax.; Cirecestre, Dd.] The first component is the river Churn, from which also came the Roman name Corinium; the latter is *ceaster*, the Saxon form of the Latin "castra," and the Keltic "caer." This denoted a *statio*, or garrison for Roman troops, and invariably was upon a Roman road, generally where the road crossed a river. Of the forty-two cities in England which end in *chester*, twelve begin with the name of the river which is there crossed by the road, among which this is one. [1]

How ought Cirencester to be pronounced? According to the *spelling*, or according to what was before this generation the invariable *pronunciation*, which has produced the spelling Cisiter, or Ciceter? The following considerations may serve us for a guide in our answer.

1. There can be no doubt that Ciren, the river name, began with a hard C, not one pronounced like an S.[2] The Roman form of it was Corinium; the modern form is Churn. And *c e*, followed by a vowel, was pronounced by the Saxons like our *c h*, the *e* being sounded quickly after the hard *c*; e. g., Ceadda = Chad; ceorl = churl.

2. The Domesday form is Cirecestre, with the *n* already elided. But Norman pronunciation softened both the hard *c* sounds, occurring as they did before the vowels *i* and *e*.

3. The Saxon *ceaster* is pronounced three ways in modern English, local dialects having modified its pronunciation. It is *caster* in north Britain, *chester* in south; the line of division being an imaginary line drawn from Lancaster to the Southern border

[1] These twelve are:—Alcester (Alne). Cirencester (Churn).
Colchester (Colne). Doncaster (Don).
Exeter (Exe). Frocester (Frome).
Granchester (Grant). Ilchester (Ivil).
Kenchester (Ken). Lancaster (Lone).
Ribchester (Ribble). Towcester (Toue).

[2] This was always the case with the Saxon c. Thus, cœg = key; cepan = to keep; Cerdic produces Kereticiann = Cardigan.

of Norfolk.[1] But in these west-midland counties there is found a third form of the name. Within a ring-fence, consisting of the Severn, the Thames as far as Oxford, a line drawn from Oxford to Peterborough, and from Peterborough back to Shrewsbury on the Severn, the general pronunciation of *ceaster*, found in twelve places which were Roman stations, is *ster*, or *seter*, e. g., Worcester, pronounced *Woo'ster;* Gloucester, pronounced *Glor'ster.*[2]

The single exception to this rule is Woodchester; and on the other hand, there is one exception to the rule that there are no towns thus pronounced *beyond* this ring-fence, viz., Exeter.

Those, therefore, who prefer the time-honoured abbreviation of Ci'ceter, have local usage, as well as historical usage, at least, as ancient as Shakspeare,[3] to plead for their preference. Those who wish to restore the orthographic pronunciation of Cirencester, have nothing but convenience to plead, for they are violating local analogy as well as historical (the *n* having been already dropped at the date of Domesday), and they are forced, besides, to lay the principal accent on the penultimate, the first syllable of *cester*, which never bears it in any other of the forty-two English cities which end in this manner.

ii. *Colesborne* [Colesborne, Dd.] The Saxon termination is obviously *borne* (stream); the beginning may, therefore, be either Saxon or Keltic, but it is, perhaps, most readily to be accounted for by the British proper name, Coel.

iii. *Duntesborne* [Duntesborne, Dantesborne, Tantesborne, Dd.] The beginning may possibly be the name of the little stream, with the *t* inserted *euphonicæ causâ*. This was an often-used Keltic name for a stream: compare the Don in Yorkshire (also called

[1] There is also a *chester* district in Durham and East Northumberland.

[2] The twelve names are Alcester, Bicester, Cirencester, Frocester, Gloucester, Leicester, Manceter, Rocester, Towcester, Uttoxeter, Worcester, and Wroxeter.

[3] King Richard II., Act V., Scene 6. Mr. Kerslake has noted that William of Worcester (A. D., 1470.) also wrote "Cyssetyr alias Cirencestre," and often repeats it in both forms.

Dun, Camden); the Russian Don, anciently *Tanais*; the *Danube*, locally the *Donau*.

iv. *Frampton* [Frantone, Dd.] "the village" obviously "on the Frome," or Stroud river. That this was the ancient name of the stream which rises below Brimpsfield, is proved by another *Frampton* lower down its course, by *Frocester* (pronounced Fror'ster), by *France Lynch*, by *Framilode*, and by *Fretherne*; as well as by *Francombe*, the name of a wood just above Pimbury Park.

v. *Rendcombe.* [Rindecome, Rindecumbe, Dd.] This has always been supposed to be a pure Saxon name, meaning "the gorge of the fissure," or picturesque rent in the hills between which the Churn flows. But a deed quoted in the Abingdon Chronicle, § xxvii., mentions the "Hrindanbroc" in a context which evidently shows that the name refers to the small stream which flows down from Pinswell, through Chedworth, to join the Churn at Rendcombe. The first syllable, therefore, of Hrindanbroc, or Rendbrook, must be sought for among Keltic river names, and there are many very similar names to be found. Thus, the Rhine was the Hrenus; in Wales we have the Rhondda; and perhaps the Roding and Roden in England, and the Rhodanus in France, are kindred names.

III. Purely Keltic Names. Of these I reckon in the immediate neighbourhood, three.

i. *Amney.* [Omenie, Dd.] The termination here is another of the roots common to both Keltic and Teutonic languages. "Water" in Keltic is *ei*, in Saxon *ea*; and "island" is in Keltic *ii*, in Saxon *ig*. This last is a very common termination in our geography; e.g. Chertsey, which = Ceortesig. And this may possibly be the best way of accounting for *ey* in this case; but (though it is a matter open to much doubt) I prefer the opinion which understands *ey* here to be the Keltic termination of river-names, meaning "water;" thus Cerney = the Churn-water [*Cyrnea*, the ancient name of both river and village]; Wiley (the name of a river and village on its bank in Wiltshire) = the water running through the Wil country. And so here the river Amney, I should suppose, may have given its name to several villages on its banks. The

first syllable in this case must be Keltic also; what it is, in my ignorance of Welsh, I abstain from conjecturing.

ii. *Cerney* [Cernei, Dd.], See the last paragraph for explanation.

iii. *Miserden.* County historians derive this name from the Musards, a family who for many generations possessed property here; but, after having weighed well the arguments on both sides, I have come to the conclusion that the likeness of the local name to that of its proprietor, is nothing but a strange coincidence. I will state the case as fairly as I can.

In favour of its being derived from the family name is the circumstance that it does not appear in Domesday at all under the name of Miserden, which is certainly strange. Hascoit Musard is there said to have owned property at six places in the county; at *Suinberie* (Saintbury), *Aiford* (Eyford), *Cheisnecote* (Seizincote), *Estune* (Aston Somerville), *Sudington* (Siddington), and *Gren-Hamstede* in Bisley Hundred. All six places can be identified, except the last; and it is therefore conjectured that its name has been altered to Miserden, meaning "Musard's dene" or "valley."

But 1. On the ordnance map there is a hamlet marked "Hanstead Farm" in the required hundred of Bisley, not far from Bisley itself.

2. If it be so, it is an instance of a Norman proprietor's obliterating altogether the Saxon name of the place in favour of a new name of his own imposing. This, however unusual, would not be quite unique; *e.g.*, Richmond in Yorkshire was so called from Alan, count of Richemont, in Brittany; Tuinam, in Hampshire, became Christchurch at the foundation of a religious house there; but when we add to this, that this new name which was imposed by the Norman proprietor consisted of two parts, of which the first was his own name, and the last the Saxon termination for "valley," the improbability does seem to me to be glaring indeed.

3. Miserden is still often spelt, and always pronounced by the common people Miser*dine*, which brings the name to a close resemblance to the places that end in "wardine," which are frequent in

Wales; *e.g.*, Lugwardine, Leintwardine, and not uncommon on the English marches; *e.g.*, Shrawardine, Wrockwardine, in Shropshire. Welsh scholars say it means "a watered camp," from *dwr-din*. That there were "wardines" about this country is proved by the name of Benwedene, reckoned in Domesday as a village in the Cirencester Hundred; the locality of this is uncertain.

At what date did these places assume their names? We know for certain the date at which South Gloucestershire became Saxon. In A.D. 577, Cuthwine and Ceaulin, Kings of the West Saxons from the south of the Thames, dispossessed the Britons of their trilateral of fortresses, and changed Caer Gloui into Gleawanceaster, Caer Badon into Bathanceaster, and Caer Ceyrn into Cirenceaster. At that time the country, except where it was tracked by Roman roads, presented the appearance of a vast forest. Country places were few and far between; the roads were dotted at intervals by villas, the property of men of military rank in the different towns; there were villages upon the streams, Cernei and Omenie; there were the *wardines*, one upon the Frome, another, perhaps, upon the Churn. All else was forest; dense, impenetrable, primeval forest. The year A.D. 577—precisely thirteen hundred years ago—changed all this. The Saxons did not neglect the Roman landways and water-ways; they planted villages along the *strata* and streams. But their characteristic work was the clearing of the forests. They felled out their *fields*, and ploughed the way to their *leys*, and marked the boundaries of their *tons*, and hung their *cots* upon the hill-slopes, and dotted their *worths* along the valleys. This new activity, we are warranted in saying, took its point of departure in South Gloucestershire from the beginning of the last quarter of the sixth century. Subsequent conquests only shifted the possession of the country from one Anglo-Saxon tribe to another; till the great blow of the eleventh century dispossessed them at a stroke, and planted Norman proprietors in their place throughout the length and breadth of England. But by this time its local nomenclature was fixed; nor has it ever since been seriously disturbed.

ON THE THREE PERIODS KNOWN AS THE IRON, THE BRONZE, AND THE STONE AGES.

BY

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I HOPE that in the observations I am about to submit I shall make plain the differences which have enabled antiquaries to divide pre-historic times into two principal divisions, namely, the Stone and the Bronze ages—and to draw a tolerably sharp line of demarcation between these periods—and the Iron age, in which we are now living, and to which the interment examined this day in Oakley Park belonged.

It has been said very truly that "Les divisions des êtres, des objets, des sciences sont la source la plus commune des erreurs de l'esprit humain," and naturalists regard the aphorism "Nature is not so strict a classifier as man," as being one of their commonplaces. And I do not say that no one of the three ages has been overlapped at either end by another, nor can I accept all the minute subdivisions of these periods which some specialists have urged upon us. But gradations at both ends of any series should not prevent us from seeing, acknowledging, and holding, that it may be distinct enough in its middle; and if old forms of implements and weapons are enabled by isolation as regards locality to live into contemporaneity with newer ones, that is only what happens with older forms of animal and vegetable life which isolation of the same kind often preserve as living fossils, but without for a moment making us doubt the propriety of referring them to an age distinct from ours.

Let us begin with the Iron Age, with the age of which we know most, and so work our way gradually upwards and backwards through the Bronze into the Stone periods. The drawings exhibited represent the implements and weapons used by the Romans and by the Anglo-Saxons, which were of iron. The Roman weapons are, some of them, such as we see them to be on monuments and some other works of art; but in some instances they were drawings of the actual weapons themselves as found on battle-fields and elsewhere. The *hastæ* and *pila* of the Saxon and Frank, for such were in reality their spear and the *angon*, were, on the other hand, found where I have never found the Roman weapons, viz., in the graves of those warriors. This difference, as to the fitting out of their deceased, depended, I would suggest, upon a difference of views as to the future state of the dead; and this difference did not consist, I apprehend, in that the one race held that the future state would be such a peaceful one that weapons of war would be superfluous in it, whilst the other believed that it would be more or less a continuation of the life of assault and battery they had so richly enjoyed here; but in a very different opposition of beliefs. The "sunt aliquid Manes" of Propertius was as beautiful a piece of poetry to the Roman as any other of the beautiful poetry of that sweet poet, but it was nothing more. The Teuton, on the other hand, held firmly on to the belief in another world; and this belief accounts for the deposition of weapons in the graves of their dead.

I am inclined to think that the Iron Age would be better spoken of as the "Steel Age." For there is no reason why we should not suppose that iron, as distinct from steel, may have been in the hands of many tribes before they came into the possession of Bronze; and if the iron was soft iron merely, bronze would be much more useful and trustworthy for the purposes of war and the chase, for which so many ancient and modern races have mainly lived. A very striking instance from Roman history of the comparative uselessness of untempered iron tools for such purposes is given us by Polybius, Hist. ii., c. 33. There we read, in a probably somewhat unjustly unfavourable account of that somewhat rare animal, a liberal military commander, that his

colonels saved him, as colonels have in later times saved other generals from disasters, by the following tactics. The Gauls came to the fight armed with long pointless soft iron broadswords. These, the Roman tribunes had observed, bent after each blow delivered on to a sufficiently resistent body. Such a body they sought and found in the *pilum* —that best of pikes or bayonets, with which a man could parry or thrust, but with which he could not strike or slash. The brave barbarian came up *ferox viribus*, brandishing his broad-sword, its downward strokes were parried, and the malleable iron, glancing downwards, bent as malleable iron will do, and left its gigantic owner at the mercy of an Italian, some five feet six inches in stature, who then brought into this sword-play a weapon which he had been taught to use *punctim, non cæsim.* The same tactics succeeded at Culloden, as the tactic of thrusting and giving point always will succeed when masses of men in rows, not isolated individuals merely, are pitted against each other on the thrusting *versus* the slashing plan, though the slashing sword at Culloden was of good steel enough. The point for our present purpose in this story of the victory of Flaminius over the Isumbrian Gauls lies in the proof it gives us of the existence, so lately in the world's history as B.C. 224, of a warrior-race fighting with soft iron instead of steel swords.

The red kidney iron ore, which we know so well from the fact of such large fortunes having been made out of it in the country laying north of Ulverston, and that other hematite known as "hematite brun," "Brauneisenerz," "Sumpferz," and the specular iron ore of Elba and Norway are, at once widely "distributed," very rich to their percentage of iron, and allow of its being easily (even if wastefully, as we should consider it) extracted. In the metallic state, Iron is seldom met with naturally; as the Dictionary of Chemistry, *sub. voc.*, p. 335, tells us, *telluric* iron is very rare; and *meteoric* iron, the other variety of native metallic iron, now that the common Greek name for iron is known not to have any relation to any *sidereal* origin, but to express simply the dew-like out-sweating of the metal as reduced in the primitive "bloomeries" of those early Dactyli, Elfins, and Dwarfs, whom we

know as "Tubal Cains," "Vulcans," "Sindris," and "Wayland Smiths," has lost any claim which it may have been supposed to have had to being considered the primitive source of iron weapons. Hence it is of the most consequence to keep in mind the fact that certain widely diffused ores of iron are very easy of reduction, as the examples furnished by the metallurgy of certain African negroes, and of wild tribes in India and in Borneo, abundantly prove. And it is possible enough that in pre-historic times one of the more easily reduced ores of iron may have been reduced, and even found to be malleable, before not only bronze but even the mode of reducing a copper ore was discovered. Still, this would not prove that bronze must, as has been maintained, have, as being a more complex invention, been a later discovery than that particular modification of iron known as steel. The rigid resistent bronze would make a better weapon, especially for that most efficient process of sword-play, "giving point," the thrusting "*punctim*," as opposed to mere slashing *cæsim*, of the Roman military writers, than would such soft iron as in the absence of the knowledge of converting iron into steel could only have been available to the savages who reduced it. A pike may "bend bravely," even when made of good steel and *á fortliori*, as the quotation from Polybius shews, when made only of untempered iron. When, however, once the art of making steel out of iron was discovered, and soft iron took on "the ice-brook's temper," the wider diffusion of the material, and the greater facilities of this process of manufacturing an equally useful article out of it, caused the displacement of bronze just as many a similar discovery has caused the displacement of many another product of toilsome elaboration by the introduction of another and simpler one. It should not, however, be forgotten that "cementation" is a preliminary process to that of hardening and tempering in the manufacture of steel, that it is a process requiring several days as well as the combination of several other conditions if it is to be successful, and that the improbability of pre-historic men stumbling early and easily into the knowledge of a process consisting of a considerable number of heterogeneous operations is in spite of the now apparent simplicity of those operations, as great,

perhaps, as the improbability of their similarly stumbling into the discovery of bronze.

Coming in the second place to the Bronze Age, and facing the discussions hereinafter to be bibliographized, I have to say that as against all quotations from old and modern authors and as against all records by whomsoever recorded of the discovery of iron weapons in Bronze Age Tumuli, I am as confident as I can be of anything in Anthropology that no iron will be, though bronze not rarely is, found in Tumuli of the Bronze Period and Round Shape in this country at least. I have been present and assisted in more ways than one at the examination of many "Round," "Bell," "Bowl," "Cone" shaped Barrows, and in the *primary* interment in such Barrows I have never seen any other metal than bronze. It is common enough to find a Saxon burial with iron and bronze both in the superficial layers of such barrows, but the superficial position of such burials shows their posteriority in point of date. The central interment at the bottom of the barrow on or sunk into the natural soil, may or may not contain a bronze dagger, may or may not contain weapons of flint, survivals from, and religious or ceremonial reminiscences of, the Stone Age, may or may not contain vessels of pottery, may contain a skeleton in the contracted position, or burnt bones either in an urn, or in a case of bark, or simply naked in the earth (I have seen all these cases), but it has never contained any shred of iron within my experience, nor, as I believe, within that of any person who can be trusted to distinguish between a primary and a secondary interment.

It will be said by some in answer to this that iron is oxidizable and perishable in an eminent degree, and that it would disappear whilst the bronze would remain. This suggestion I will not characterize as one of the study as opposed to one of the Barrow, but as one of the laboratory, and the laboratory with its strong reagents supports it in a way that the slow and weak or wholly inert chemistry of the deep sand, or rubble, or gravel-filled grave does not. Of course, if you conceive a stream of water, acidulated even slightly with nitric acid, to pass constantly over an iron

spear-head, there is no difficulty in estimating the time which will be necessary for the entire disappearance of an implement so tested. But no such agent is available in many, I might say most, Bronze Period Graves. In some such graves you may find the objects they contain encrusted with a deposit of carbonate of lime, which would have protected an iron weapon of the Bronze Period if there had been any to protect; or you may find, as I am happy often to have seen, the bones in a capital state of preservation and contrasting to great advantage with the corroded and "perished" bones of Saxons *whose iron weapons were, nevertheless, very present with them*; or the grave itself may contain a considerable quantity of free carbonic acid, as other sunk wells do, and yet may be so dry from conditions of superjacent and subjacent rubble and soil as to have afforded no means for the removal of any results of any slight erosion which its contents might have suffered. The phenomena disclosed by the spade must be compared with those disclosed by the test tube; there is here a *makro*—as well as a *mikro*—chemistry.

One of many other convincing arguments for the conclusion that iron came into general use later than bronze, is, to my mind, the fact that in Switzerland you find, as in the museum at Berne, bronze bracelets ornamented with beads of iron, and as in a knife from Mörigen, the blade of a cutting instrument made mainly of bronze but similarly inlaid with strips of steel. On this, Désor and Favre (Le bel Age du Bronze Lacustre, 1874, p. 16) remarks "*Or pour qu' on ait employé le fer en guise d'ornement il fallait bien qu' on le tint en grande estime et qui il ne fut pas tres commun.*" The larger use of iron when a thin blade of it was carried on a handle of bronze, the retention by such iron blades of the leaf-shape of the bronze blades which they displaced from their bronze pommels, and finally the exceedingly rich ornamentation of the pummels of the iron swords found at that most instructive discovery at Hallstatt, are all similarly indications that iron was of later introduction than bronze; that at first it was the scarcer of the two materials. If, afterwards, iron was made a servant of all work, and bronze was retained simply for the manufacture of

ornaments, as by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, this is but a history which can be paralleled by that of many other household goods!

Copper, as distinguished from bronze, is, on *à priori* grounds, likely to have been discovered and used long before metallic iron. For it is much more abundant in the metallic state in nature, as for example, in Siberia, in the Faroe Islands, in many Cornish and in some Welsh mines, in Brazil, Chili, and Peru, and, above all, in large masses near Lake Superior, in North America. And, in addition to being there available and obvious as a red metal—or, indeed, *the* red metal—copper is malleable and ductile immediately after fusion, and acquires considerable hardness *when mixed with other metals.* These last five words from the Dictionary of Chemistry *sub. voc.* "Copper," bring us face to face with the question: Where was made the discovery of the advantages to be gained from alloying copper with tin, and so obtaining bronze? It was, of course, likely to be made in some district in which the ores of these two metals were to be found in proximity. There are three such areas. Firstly, Cornwall: but as against the claims of our westernmost county are to be set, not only the ratiocinatively weighty words of Cæsar as to pigs or ingots of bronze, *Ære utuntur importato,* but many materially ponderable arguments in the shape of bronze celts themselves demonstrably also imported as manufactured. Secondly, Khorasan: as to existence of tin in which district we have hints from Strabo and from Burnes, but have lately had full and authentic information furnished to us in a paper written by the late illustrious Von Baer but twelve days before his death on November 28th, 1876, and published in the Archiv für Anthropologie, ix., 4, p. 262. It appears that the Vice-President of the Imperial Geographical Society of St. Petersburgh, Herr Semenow, at the instance of Von Baer, procured the following report as to the existence of tin and copper and other minerals in the neighbourhood of the places tolerably familiar to us, as Herat, Merv, and the Bamyan Pass. Here is the Report:—

"Ein Bewohner der Stadt Meschhed, Aga Mamed Kasym Ragim, Arrendator eines der vielen Kupferbergwerke in Chorassan, theilte mir mit, das 20 Farsangen (1 Farsange = annahernd 7 Werst) von

der Stadt Utschan Miot Abot sich die reichsten Lager von Zinn, Eisen, Kupfer, Schwefel und Blei befinden und 2)6 Farsanger von Meschhed ein Zinnbergwerk das sogenannte Rabotge Alokaband ist. Die Genauigkeit dieser Angaben ist bekräftigt durch den Vorsteher der russischen Kaufmannschaft in Chorassan, den Bucharen Hadschi Ibrahim der wohl bekannt ist mit der hiesigen Gegend und mit vielen Personen die sich mit Bergwerksarbeiten beschäftigen: ausserdem habe ich mich factisch von dem Vorkommen des Zinns hier überzeugt durch Ueberfluss von zinnernen Waschkrügen und grossen Schüsseln alter einheimischer Arbeit, welche aus dem Zinn des Ortes gefertigt sind wie mir die Besitzer sagten.

"Nach den Aussagen der Kaufleute, die durch Handels interessen mit Merw in Verbindung stehen sind die bergigen Theile Turkmeniens das von Stamme Teke eingenomen wird, uberhaupt reich an verschiedenen Erzen unter welchen sich auch Zinn vorfindet Genauere Nachrichten jedoch über diesen Gegenstand werde ich geben in der Ausarbeitung der Tagebücher meiner Reises im nordöstlichen Persien.

"Hierzu schreibt der Geheimrath Semenow: "Diese Nachrichten sind nach meiner Bestellung gesammelt und mitgetheilt von einem Reisenden, der im Auftrage der Geographischen Gesellschaft und des Herrn Gluchowskoi eine Reise nach Ost Persien (Meschhildo) zu Stande gebracht hat. Er heisst Ogorodnikow."—P. Semenow.

Diese Nachrichten machen es höchst wahrscheinlich, dass zu der vielen Bronze, die man in den Ruinen von Assyrien und Babylonien gefunden hat, das Zinn aus der Gegend von Chorassan kam, wo man die Drangianer zu suchen haben wird. Wie weit hin das Vorkommen des Zinns sich erstreckt, ob bis zum Bamyan Passe der das natürliche Thor im Hindukusch aus Afghanistan und Indien in das Flachland des Orus bildet, bleibt noch künftigen Untersuchungen vorbehalten. Dass aber bis zur Entdeckung der Zinngruben in Cornwallis alles Zinn zu den vielen Bronzen, die in allen Landern des Mittettändischen Meeres und in Skandinavien gefunden sind nur aus dieser Gegend kam, möchte ich doch bezweifeln."

There is yet a third locality in which Copper and Tin are found in a condition of proximity, which may well have led to the combination of them into Bronze. This locality is no less extensive, and no less ancient a seat of human history, than the region lying between Birmah and Banca, inclusively. This is what Mortillet writes, Révue de Anthrop, i, v, 1875, p. 653.

"Reste les groupe des l'extrême Orient Asiatique. C'est là evidemment où il faut chercher l'origine du bronze. Les principaux gisements sont dans la presqùles de Malacca et surtout dans l'île de Banca, mais ils s'étendent dans d'autres îles de la Sonde et remontent jusqué dans l'empire Birman òn l'étain est encore exploité actuellement dans le district de Merguy. Ce minéral, dans tous ces gisemens se recueille de la manière la plus simple et plus faciles dans les alluvions. Ces sont bien certainement les alluvions les plus riches du monde en étain et celles qui occupent la plus grande étendue. Il est donc tout naturel que ce soit celles qui les premières aient attiré l'attention de l'homme. La cuivre ses rencontre dans les mêmes régions. Tout le monde connait les gisements de cuivre des îles de la Sondez Timor, Macassar, Borneo. La Birmanie anglaise présente des mines des cuivre à côté des ses exploitations d'étain. Les pays sa trouve donc dans les meilleures conditions pour avoir vu naitre l'industrie du bronze."

Von Baer himself, *l.c.*, thinks that Ceylon may very probably have been one source whence Tin was procured by the Phœnicians trading for it with the Malays, as they traded doubtless with them at second, if not at first, hand for the Cinnamon, which still retains its Malay name little altered, though it has passed through the mouths of so many Western races. I a little doubt the correctness of the introduction of the Malays into the picture; for if the Malays brought Bronze, or even only the ores of either or both of the metals forming it, to meet the Phœnicians at Ophir, it is difficult to understand how they should have failed to carry the knowledge they could not thus have failed to gain, with them on their colonizing expeditions over Polynesia. Yet Polynesia was in the Stone Age till quite recently, though the common fowl and

the pig had been carried to some of the most remote of its islands, and the dog even to New Zealand, in times beyond the memory, if not beyond the traditions of the natives, and long before they came into *rapport* with Europeans; and we learn from Rev. Crawfurd, Trans. Ethn. Soc., iii., 1865, p. 353, that it was the Gentoo traders of the Coromandel coast, who brought Tin from Malaysia to India, when the Europeans first came into relation with Malaysia in the early years of the 16th century.

There can be no doubt that many of the bronze weapons now found in this country were imported as made up; if my memory does not deceive me, hollow bronze weapons have been found upon our south coasts, containing still the cores on which they had been moulded for the use of our natives, who were balked of them by the shipwreck of the vessel laden for them. On the other hand, masses of bronze in the rough, pigs, that is, or even ingots, have also been found in this country, together with smelting apparatus and moulds; so that bronze must also have been worked up here, as there is abundant evidence (see Klemm, German, Alterthums kunde, 1836, p. 151) to shew it was also in Germany. Every nation, the most refined, perhaps, not more than the most barbarous, has its own fancies as to the patterns of its own weapons, as much as its own clothes, its own architecture, and its own ceremonials; and this feeling of independence would shortly evoke a demand for the raw material and a production of moulding apparatus. A very instructive story, bearing upon the possible working of this desire for variation, is told by Major-General Lane Fox, F.R.S., in a paper on "Primitive Warfare," read by him June 5, 1868, at the Royal United Science Institution. As the paper in question was printed only and not published, it may be allowable here to re-produce it. It runs thus:—

"The next principle which we shall have to consider is that of variation. Amongst all the products of the most primitive races of man, we find endless variations in the forms of their implements, all of the most trivial characters. A Sheffield manufacturer informed me that he had lately received a wooden model of a dagger blade from Mogadore, made by an Arab, who desired to have one of steel made exactly like it; accordingly my informant thinking he had found a convenient market for the sale of such weapons,

constructed some hundreds of blades of exactly the same pattern; on arriving at their destination, however, they were found to be unsaleable. Although precisely of the same type as those in general use about Mogadore, all of which to the European eye would be considered alike, their uniformity rendered them unsuited to the requirements of the inhabitants, each of whom prided himself upon possessing his own particular pattern, the peculiarity of which consisted in having some almost imperceptible difference in the curve or breadth of the blade.

Persons who, like myself, incline to the belief that the regions round the Bay of Bengal were probably the seat, not only of the discovery of the stream-works oxide of tin, but also of that of its alloy with copper, will be tempted to assign more weight than is due to the fact, or supposed fact, of the bronze-swords having such small handles, as may be thought Hindoos or people like them would have. I am not quite clear that this bronze sword, leaf-shaped or other, has always a very small hilt; certainly in some cases, if we imagine the hilt to be wrapped round with leather or other material suitable for the purpose, it will not turn out to be at all too small for the grip of an ordinary English hand of the present day. At any rate there can be no doubt that in this country the skeletons of the Bronze Period belonged to much larger, and stronger, and taller men than did the skeletons of the Long Barrow stone using folk who procured them. In some parts of England the contrast in this matter of size between the men of the Bronze and those of the Stone Age is as great as that now existing between the Maori and the gentle Hindoo; and in some, though not in all, parts the Bronze-users appear to have as entirely extirpated the Stone-users, as the Maoris, in their cannibal days, would have extirpated any similarly weaker race. The facts as seen by me, when in company with Canon Greenwell, and upon other occasions, appear to me to justify some such statement as this, as to the introduction of bronze into this country. The stone-using inhabitants of Great Britain, if not also of Ireland, may have had their first introduction to a knowledge of bronze in the way of peaceful barter and commerce. Some probability is given to such a view as this by the fact that some of the earliest bronze axes are evidently moulded upon the pattern furnished by stone weapons, just as in North America, where there was a Copper Age, the copper arrow-heads are modelled

(see Lubbock, Pre-historic Times, sec. ed., 1869, p. 245) on the type of their stone ones. But with improved and advanced Bronze weapons in this country, we find, invariably within my experience, an improved and advanced race of men, so far as powerful limbs, tallness of stature, and capacious crania, do make one race of men superior to another. This race of men, besides their physical, present us with many ceremonial and other differences; their burial mounds are round; their pottery is of another kind, or kinds rather, as they have funeral as well as other wares, the former of which the stone men had not; the ornaments they buried with their dead are of a different kind, type, and material; finally the numbers of dead interred in round barrows, and the numbers of round barrows themselves, are very much greater than those of the dead interred in long barrows, and than those of the round barrows themselves. All this seems to me to point to a conquest of this country having been effected by Bronze-using invaders, who came in great numbers, probably as has been elsewhere suggested, from the Cimbric peninsula, which was once again in the Iron Age, viz, in the Iron Age of Swegen and Cnut, an *officina gentium victricum*. If the Danes in a recent war had been as much in advance of their enemies in the adoption of improved weapons of war, as *ex hypothesi* they were in the Bronze Age, and *de facto* in the Iron Age, of the inhabitants of these islands, Schleswig-Holstein might still have been an appanage of Denmark.

I take this opportunity of remarking that anybody who will take the trouble of reading the few lines which come in Hesiod's "Works and Days," 144-148, just before the often quoted line as to the sequence of the Bronze and Iron Ages, will find that he had somehow become as much impressed with the vast size and brute strength of the bronze-using people as I, in spite of the currently accepted statements as to the small hands of the men of that era, have become from actual handling of the bones. Bronze Age tumuli, however, may have been excavated, indeed, as the history of the examination of the tomb of Theseus, at Scyros, they actually were excavated in the days of very early bards, such as the one just referred to.

Virgil's line

"Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris"

expresses the tendency to magnify the size of such *trouvailles*; still there was solid fact for what Hesiod wrote, *l.c*, and Ovid might have given more space to insisting upon this very distinctive characteristic of the Bronze Age, than he has in his re-production of Hesiod, Metamorph, i., 125-127.

> Tertia post illam successit ahenea proles,
> Sævior ingeniis, et ad horrida promptior arma;
> Non scelerata tamen: de duro est ultima ferro.

In modern Europe we have but some half-dozen millions of men under arms at the present moment, and we have lost by war in the last twenty-five years something under a couple of millions only, by the accidents inseparable from modern fighting; and it is difficult for us, consequently, to realize, even approximatively, the terrible conditions prevalent in the "bella, horrida bella" of the Bronze Age. Hesiod appears to have been much impressed by what tradition told him of it; he does not, however, appear to have thought his own time so very much better, as we have such good reason for thinking ours is.

I have sometimes thought that the comparison (for which see Max Müller, Lectures ii., p. 256, 8th edition, 1875) by the Sanskrit Writers, of copper to the muscles or flesh of an animal may really have been a comparison of greenish bronze to muscles taking on a greenish hue from decomposition, and that we should thus save ourselves from supposing that copper, which, as a metal, is eminently "red," should have been contrasted by our forefathers with something, iron, to wit, which they compared to blood. At any rate, leaving both mythology and philology, I may say that Sir John Lubbock has given us excellent reasons for doubting whether Europe, or at least the western part of it, ever went through a pure copper stage, as America, so rich in native copper, did. And as regards metallic tin being used for weapons at least, I have come upon only a single statement which could bear such a meaning; this statement is given by Klemm Germanische Alterthumskunde, p. 19, in the following words: "Ein Stuck

aus reinem Zinn fand Kortum in der Ruhenthal Grabstatte," s. 8, 105. It is plain, however, that this may have been a "find" of an ornament as distinguished from an implement made of unalloyed metallic tin.

There are two Greek words standing at the end of line 612 of the Agamennon of Æschylus, which mean "baths for copper" but which are usually translated "dyeing of copper" and are supposed to be a proverbial mode of indicating an impossibility, or, as the Germans put it, an "Unding." I strongly suspect that these words have attained this secondary signification, not from any reference to colouring, but simply to "tempering," and that the mode of tempering bronze having been a secret, it has to be considered something *supra-* and ultimately *contra*-natural. If this suggestion is true, we have in it a fresh argument for the view which teaches that the discovery of alloying copper with tin was Extra-European in origin. There is another new argument for the same conclusion, and for the corollary to it, that bronze, like the Jade, Jadeit, and Nephrit of the preceding or Stone Period, and like all imported articles in such times, must have been scarce and highly valued; and this argument lies in the fact that the use of stone weapons survived so long after the introduction of this alloy. This was forced upon me in the examination this year of certain barrows in Somersetshire, proved to be of the Bronze Period by the discovery in them of bronze weapons, with burnt human bones, in which worked flints were in such abundance, that had it not been for the discovery of the bronze implements, we might almost have supposed that we were dealing with interments of the Stone Age. These barrows were in a district (that of Castle-Cary) the surface strata of which are low down in the lower secondary formations, yet the worked flints, and they not only "strike-a-lights" or "thumb-flints," but scrapers, were as abundant as they might have been in a tumulus upon a chalk down. Their varied quality and great quantity renders it impossible to think that they are in such a district merely thrown in ceremonially, and are evidence to the effect that, though tin and copper were available

enough, and side by side, at no greater distance than Cornwall, those particular deposits had not then been utilized for the manufacture in question.

Let us now pass to the Stone Age. I have not the knowledge requisite for sub-dividing the Bronze Age into distinct periods; and looking at the question in the light which played over the Somersetshire hills, when I was employed, as just now stated, upon them, I doubt whether any sub-division of it, as it was in England, can be justified. A Copper Age, no doubt, must have existed, and did exist, in America, antecedently to the Age of copper, alloyed with tin; but there is no evidence that it ever existed in England, at least. More may be said, on the authority of Polybius and on other evidence, for the sub-division of the Iron Age into two periods, one of which, the earlier of course, had not learnt the art of tempering iron, whilst to it a second, "the age of steel succeeded then." But as regards the Stone Age we have no need to have recourse to mere probable arguments and *à priori* evidence. There is no doubt whatever that the Stone Age is divisible into two great periods upon several principles, which, however, make their several sections in the same plane. We can look at a stone weapon and ask ourselves one or other of these three questions; firstly, was it intended to be used in the hand, or used as hafted? Secondly, has it been polished and ground up, or has it been left simply chipped over with conchoidal fractures? Thirdly, was it found in company with pottery, however rude, or was it found in some river-gravelbed, in company with no other evidence of human handiwork, but with the bones of mammoth and rhinoceros? If a stone weapon is so fashioned that we can see that it was intended to be stuck into a handle or haft, and if it is polished, we may be sure that it belonged to a later than the mammoth period in this country, and that it may be spoken of as Neolithic in contra-distinction to the Palæolithic weapons. It is true that in the great factory for flint weapons, which has been described by Major-General Lane Fox (Journal Anth. Inst., v. 3, 1876), at Cissbury, an implement, or implements, which could only be used as held in the naked hand, came out during the period of the excavations carried on there, and amongst

multitudes of "celts," which were as obviously intended to be used in handles. But survivals were not unknown in the great Stone Age any more than in our great Steel Age, and for the very various manipulative processes which the working of a *Flint-mine*, with its tortuous galleries, necessitating an amount of "body-bending toil," no way inferior to that necessitated by the galleries of the modern coal-pit, a pointed stone weapon which had a blunt end fitted for a hand grasp, would not rarely have its advantage. The fact that at Cissbury, as also at Grimes Graves, in Norfolk (for which see Journal, Ethn. Soc., N.S., ii, p. 214), and at Spienne, in Belgium, (for which see Mem. Soc. Sci. et Arts, der Hainaut, 1866-7, p. 355), it was found worth while to undertake and execute such extensive works, as are those flint-mines, enables us to realize the meaning of the words "Stone Age" very vividly. The demand for these weapons was so great that it was found profitable to go through all this toil to supply it; the margin of advantage which made it profitable, lying in the mineralogical fact that a flint taken freshly out of its chalky matrix, and retaining its normal hygrometric properties, is more workable and plastic than a flint which has been rolled about the world in floods *per mare per terram*. A modern workman will break flints fresh from the chalk for a shilling, whilst for an equal amount of results for gravel pebbles he will charge you eighteen-pence. It may seem something of a contradiction to the principles of the identity of the period of handled, with that of polished, as opposed to chipped flints, to say that the flints manufactured at Cissbury were, with the few exceptions alluded to, all intended to be fitted with handles, and yet that they were all left unpolished; but the process of polishing a flint, when *finely* chipped, as these are, is a very easy one, involving only the use of a little sand and water to rub the broad chipped cutting edge into smoothness, on a stone such as modern savages use for the purpose; and the modern manufactory of metal weapons shows us that weapons and implements of all kinds are, from certain considerations of expediency, stored and stacked in an unfinished state, before being sent out on, or for, sale.

One point I should wish here to put upon record, relatively to the excavations at Cissbury. In my paper on "The Animal Remains found at Cissbury," published in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, for July, 1876, vi., p. 22, as also in "British Barrows," p. 742, 1877, I expressed myself as having been much impressed by what I had seen to the effect that the pitfall, especially as eked out with certain accessories, had counted for a great deal in the economy (if this be not to profane the word) of the Stone Age. In the earlier of the two places referred to, I say "Hurdles of gorse probably were arranged on the principles of the wicker hoops in a decoy, and it is easy to see how, by such a plan, eked out, perhaps, by the firing of heaps of the same useful material, a wild bull, or a herd, might be driven over a pitfall." In the latter, I say "It requires a greater effort of imagination on our part to imagine a pack of wild dogs co-operating with priscan men in driving a herd of wild cattle or wild pigs (both of which were represented in the Cissbury Pits) along a track in which a pitfall had been dug and covered over. Still what we know justifies us, &c." When I wrote these words, I was very distinctly of opinion that the suggestion they contain was, however obvious, yet entirely an original and novel one; I was rudely, yet not unpleasantly, undeceived a few days ago, when verifying, as it is always well to do by often quoted lines, the lines of Lucretius, v. 1285. I "tried back," as I have heard it expressed elsewhere, to the preceding context, which greatly fascinated me, not only by its grand roll and flow, but also by the singularly clear insight which it gave me into the way in which their author had faced the great problem of "Kulturgeschichte." In that context I came, to my great surprise, upon two lines, 1249-1250, which contain a suggestion at once half coinciding with, and half contradicting my own as just quoted. Lucretius, undoubtedly, can claim priority as to the part of his hypothesis in which he and I agree; and perhaps I had better not claim originality as to either part of mine; but this question is of little consequence. Here are the lines of Lucretius, v. 1249-1250:—

Nam fovea atque igni prius est venarier ortum
Quam sepire plagis saltum canibusque ciere.

To this disquisition on the several Ages of Iron, Bronze, and Stone, I here will append an account of the disinterment of a skeleton of the Iron (Roman) Period, which took place by the permission of the Earl Bathurst, yesterday, Aug. 27, in Oakley Park, during heavy rain, in the presence of the Hon. Mrs. Lennox, the Hon. Miss M. Ponsonby, Professor A. H. Church, Christopher Bowley, Esq., R. A. Anderson, Esq., E. C. Sewell, Esq., and myself. The skeleton was contained in a stone coffin, covered by a flat stone slab, much of the same character as the undoubted Roman coffins found at York and elsewhere in England, though, unlike many of them, it contained no relic besides the skeleton itself, and a Roman nail, of a type known at Cirencester. The dimensions of the coffin were :—

External	Length - - -	7′	2″
	Width at N.E. end -	2′	8″5
	Width at S.W. end -	2′	4″

Internal	Length - - -	5′	8″
	Width at N.E. end -	1′	5″5
	Width at S.W. end -	1′	5″

Its bearings were from N.E. by E. to S.W. by W., a rather unusual orientation, it being more common to find the feet at a point a little south, than at a point a little north, of the rising sun, deaths being more numerous in the winter than in the summer quarters of the year. The head, however, was at the north-eastward end, and this appears to make it probable that this coffin dates as far back as the time when the Romans had relinquished the practice of cremation, without accepting the religion, or, at least, the religious practices of Christianity; to a time, that is, between the death of Severus, in the first decade of the third, and the accession of Constantine, in the first decade of the fourth century, A.D. The skeleton was in good preservation; the only disturbance to which it had been subjected, of a violent kind, previous to our exploration, having been quite recently inflicted by some gay young anthropologists from the day school, who, in defiance of the school-board's inspector, had, in their zeal for

science, been poking sticks through a chink at the north-east end of the coffin, and had slightly displaced the skull inwards, besides damaging its outer table and exposing the diploe. The lower jaw, however, had not been displaced. On the back of the skull, and also around the first cervical vertebra, there is a considerable deposit of lime, probably the remains of quicklime which the Romans often put into their coffins, as may be seen to great advantage in the museum at York. I did not observe this till the bones were cleaned in the museum here; and I did not note whether there was any hole in the bottom of the coffin, whereby an exit would be possible for this lime as dissolved by carbonated water passing down into the coffin. Some of the other bones were blackened in places by carbonaceous deposit from the leaves and other vegetable matters, such as, if my memory serves me, beech nuts, which had found their way into the coffin and decayed there, and also from the decay of the soft parts of the body, and the wrappings of it. The nail found in the coffin may, indeed, appear to indicate that some sort of coffin of wood was used, as well as the coffin of stone; there would have been plenty of room for one, as the length of the Roman body was but five feet one inch, whilst the internal length of the stone coffin was 5′ 8″; but I think this nail may have worked its way in from without, through the same chinks which gave inlet to the other foreign bodies already mentioned.

The left arm lay alongside the body, and the left hand rested on the pelvis; the right arm was stretched upwards with the hand at the face; the left leg was drawn up to the centre of the body, or thereabouts. The distance from the end of the coffin to the pelvis was 2′ 11″, leaving a space of about 4″ between the sole of the foot and the end of the coffin.

My thanks are eminently due to Professor A. H. Church and to E. C. Sewell, Esq., for their help before, after, and during this disinterment. For the measurements and descriptions following, I am more entirely responsible than for what has preceded.

MEASUREMENTS AND DESCRIPTION OF SKELETON, FROM STONE COFFIN IN OAKLEY PARK,

On the Estate of the Earl of Bathurst,

August 27th, 1877.

Measurements of Skull.

External Length,	7″ 3.
Frontoinial Length,	7″.
Extreme Breadth,	5″ 8.
Upright Height,	5″ 5.
Absolute Height,	5″ 2.
Circumference,	21″ 3.
Frontal Arc,	5″ 2.
Parietal Arc,	4″ 5.
Occipital Arc,	4″ 5.
Greatest Frontal Width,	4″ 9.
Greatest Occipital Width,	4″ 8.
Basicranial Axis,	3″ 75.

Measurements of Face.

Length of Face	2″ 25.
Breadth of Face.	
Basio-subnasal Line,	3″ 4.
Basio-aloeolar Line,	3″ 5.
Height of Orbit,	1″ 5.
Width of Orbit,	1″ 6.
Length of Nose,	2″ 0.
Width of Nose,	1″ 0.
Depth of lower Jaw, at Symphysis,	1″ 1.
Width of lower Jaws, ramus	1″ 3.
Interangular diameter	3″ 6.
Cephalic Index	″ 79.
Anteroposterior Index	″ 55.
Femur	17″
Tibia	12″ 2.
Humerus	11″ 5.
Stature	5′ 1″.

Age, about 30.

A well filled-out skull, on the whole, though the parietal tubera are still distinguishable as is often the case in female skulls; the forehead is vertical, but the parietal region slopes with considerable obliquity in its posterior two-fifths; the plane of the superior occipital squama lies distinctly behind that of the posterior part

of the parietals, so that a very marked undulation is formed at the line of meeting of the two bones. The relation of inferiority held by the height to the breadth of the skull is probably merely a sexual character; the vertical contour being eminently that of the dolichocephalic type of skulls, whilst the smallness of the mastoid, the slightness of the supra-orbital ridges, and the feebleness of the lower jaw, shew what the characters of the limb and trunk bones also show, viz., that the owner of this skeleton was a woman.

This woman had lost the second molar of the left half of her upper jaw some time before the evolution of the wisdom teeth of the lower jaw of the same side, and probably not very long after the evolution of the second molar of the same side of the lower jaw. The first molar of the right half of the upper jaw had been similarly lost early in life; the second molar next to it was largely excavated, and the wisdom tooth on to which that carious cavity opened had an abscess at its fangs. The lower jaw teeth, though all sound except the left second pre-molar, are much crowded together. It is not clear that the wisdom tooth of the left upper jaw was ever developed. Six abnormalities is a large proportion in the dental series of a woman who was not much beyond thirty years of age.

The slightness and straightness of the collar bones; the horizontal direction of the neck of the femur; the characters of the *os innominatum* and other bones, show the skeleton to have belonged to a woman of about thirty years of age, or a little over that age. The suture between the first and second vertebra of the sacrum is widely, but not symmetrically open, and its patency with a greater width on the left than on the right side, must be considered as due to some morbid process. All the sutures and epiphyses of the limbs are closed and anchylosed; So also are, to a great extent, the sagittal and lambdoid sutures in the skull. The characters of the facial bones, such as those of the elevation of the nasal bones, and the proportions indicated by the measurements, show that this Romano-British lady may have deserved the praise

of Martial as expressed in the following lines :—

" Claudia cæruleis quam sit Rufina Britannis,
Edita, quam Latiæ pectora plebis habet !
Quale decus formæ, Romanam credere matres,
Italides possunt———"

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ON THE MONUMENTAL BRASSES AT CIRENCESTER.

BY

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Read at Cirencester, 28th August, 1877.

The Monumental Brasses in Cirencester Church, although not of the same ornate and richly chased or diapered character which marks some brasses in other parts of the kingdom, are yet extremely interesting, and, some of them, valuable; extending, as they do, over a period of five centuries,—if we may include some simple inscriptions among their number. Most of them are memorials to civilians, and, therefore, do not give so much of the variations in the military costumes of this country, as may be seen in other churches.

The metal of which this kind of monument is composed is named '*laten*' or '*latten*,' which up to the middle of the 17th century was manufactured exclusively on the continent, and thence imported into England. The chief seats of the manufacture appear to have been Ghent and Cologne—as in old documents we find the "finest Cullen plate" specified as that of which the monuments were to be made. As may be supposed, therefore, these brasses are to be found chiefly in those parts of England which had more constant communication and intercourse with Flanders and the Rhenish provinces; and so brasses abound in the eastern counties, but become proportionately fewer as we go westward, until beyond Gloucestershire they become extremely rare; Cirencester may

therefore be congratulated on possessing so many fine specimens of the early engravers' skill. Fuller says that they were paid for in Cotswold wool; which statement seems to be supported by the fact that at Cirencester, Northleach, and Campden—all three formerly great places of the wool trade—fine brasses are to be found, variously exhibiting the symbols of the trade, in the sheep and the woolpack.[1]

The earliest dated brass in Cirencester Church is in the Lady Chapel—it is that to the memory of William Nottingham and his wife. But in the same chapel there is a very fine specimen, at least sixty years earlier than Nottingham's; it lies near the north wall of the chapel, and is greatly mutilated; it represents a merchant and his wife, with a very fine double canopy, the underpart of which shows the groining of the arch, while the cusps terminate in trefoils, characteristics which mark this brass as dating between 1320-1360 (temp. Ed. II. and Ed. III.). The male figure, which has lost the head, is clad in a gown with flowing sleeves, and bound round the waist with a girdle falling in front of the figure; on the end of the girdle the letter T is found worked as a monogram; the feet are in pointed shoes, resting on a wine cask, and above the canopy, over the male figure, is a shield bearing an almost obliterated escutcheon of arms, somewhat resembling the old arms of the city of Bristol; so possibly this merchant may have had some connection with that place. There is also another escutcheon with the following:– "Ihc haue mercy on us." The female figure has almost entirely disappeared, but the lower part still remains, shewing the bottom of a long flowing kirtle, buttoned to the feet, which, like her husband's, rest on a wine cask. The inscription, only a fragment of which remains, is remarkable for being alternately in raised and sunken letters, and is the only specimen of the two sorts of lettering occurring in the same inscription that I am acquainted with.

[1] In Lyson's 'Collections of Stone Antiquities' are engraved the brasses in Northleach Church of J. Fortey, with one foot on a sheep and the other on a woolpack; and of Thomas Fortey, whose feet rest on a woolpack. In Bigland's Collections, under Chipping-Campden is engraved the brass of Wilelmus Grevel, who is described as "Flos mercator lanæ tocius Anglie."

Next comes the brass of W. Nottingham, which, as I before stated, is the earliest dated brass in the church; it bears the following inscription :—"Orate pro aiabus Willi Notyngham et Cristine uxoris eius qui quidem Will'ms obiit xxi° die mensis Nouembris Anno d'ni Mill'mo cccc° xxbii° et predict' Cristina obiit iiij° die Julij A° dni. M° CCCC° xxxiij° q°r aiabs p'piciet' Deus.—Amen. This fixes the dates at the 5th and 12th years of Henry VI. The effigy of the man, who is headless, is clothed in the usual civilian's gown of the period with a rosary on the right hand side of the belt, the end of which is visible. The female figure wears the 'horned' or 'mitred' headdress, but no hair is visible beneath; the kirtle is long and flowing to the feet; the sleeves are tight, and no cincture is visible at the waist. The collar is remarkable as coming down in a loop to the waist.

Next in chronological order comes the very handsome and valuable brass of Richard Dixton, who was squire to Richard, Duke of York, father of Edward IV. The date is 1438 (16th of Henry VI.). This brass is in Trinity Chapel, and lies, with others, close to the reredos. The canopy is very fine, but is now mutilated. The effigy is that of a warrior of the times of the wars of the Roses; he is clad in complete plate, without a trace of mail armour to be seen; the basinet is globular, and round the opening for the face is an ornamental edging, the same pattern also appearing on the top of the cuirass; pointed tuilles are appended to the taces, which are eight in number, and are crossed from right to left by a narrow sword belt, the fastening of which is not shown. Placcates[1] of different size and form, and fixed by rivets and arming points, afford additional defence for the shoulders, a demi-placcate, or second covering of steel, strengthens the lower part of the cuirass, and the gauntlets have but two joints at the back of the fingers. The sollerets are also remarkable for their peculiar lamination; only the indent of the misericorde remains; the arms of the wearer are engraved on the pommel of the sword, and are *or, a pile azure, over all a chevron gules*; the same coat appears on the north wall of the chapel. The inscription, part of which is

[1]These placcates are engraved in Boutell's Monumental Brasses, p 69.

lost, runs thus,[1] "[*Hic jacet Ricardus*] **Dixton Armiger qui obiit die sancti Laurencii** [*Martyris anno Domini*] **Millesimo cccc° xxxbiii°. Cujus anime propicietur** [*Deus. Amen*]."[2]

REGINALD SPYCER and his four wives follow next in order. The date of the brass is 1442 (20th Hen. VI). The male figure in the centre is clothed in a close-fitting gown, reaching nearly to the ankles, girded at the waist; the sleeves are somewhat full, but fit tolerably closely at the wrist; the collar is an upright one; the gown is buttoned from the neck to the breast; beneath appears the collar of the under tunic. Of the wives, the two on the husband's left hand wear that peculiar shape of the horned head-dress, which may be distinguished as the "heart shaped;" the folds of the head-dress descend in front of the figures on to the breast; the kirtles are long, and flowing over the feet, the sleeves shaped like their husbands; the collar is opened, so as to fall back, and no buttons are visible; the kirtle is confined round the waist by a girdle. The two wives on the husband's right hand wear the coverchef, falling in folds in front on the breast; and the one on the extreme right has the hair in a sort of caul or close cap: both these head-dresses are of older date than the heart-shaped, and thus on the same brass we have examples of the style in which ladies dressed their hair, from the latter part of the 14th to the middle of the 15th century. The kirtles of both the earlier wives are flowing like the others, but the sleeves are of quite a different pattern, being cut straight, and are not so full. There are buttons from the neck to the breast; both also wear girdles. The inscription, at the foot, is as follows:—"**Hic iacent Reginaldus Spycer quondam m'cator isti' bille qui obiit ix° die Julij Anno dn'i, millmo cccc° xlij° et Margareta Juliana Margaretta ac Johna uxores ei' quor' aiabs p'picietur d's. Amen.**

Beneath the figures is an escutcheon charged with a merchant's mark between the letters "**R**" and "**S**;" (see Plate).

[1] The portion in italics is supplied from Bigland, I. 356.

[2] This brass is engraved, Bigland, vol. I., p. 341; Waller, p. 12; see also Haines' Brasses, No. 166, Ed. 1848. This is described in Haines' Brasses, Ed. 1861, p. 211.—ED.

Monumental Brass at Cirencester.

[Spycer family.]

[SCALE, *Inch and half, to Foot.*]

In this same chapel, Trinity, is another very fine brass, with double canopies, representing a merchant and his wife, with fourteen children at their feet. There is no name, as the whole of the inscription is lost; but the style of execution of the brass would place the date about the latter half of the 15th century (temp. Ed. IV., or Rich. III.). The male figure is depicted wearing a loose gown, with large sleeves, gathered in tighter at the wrist; the collar is standing up round the neck, and there is a girdle round the waist; the female figure is dressed much in the same style. At the foot of the male figure, and above the canopy, are escutcheons charged with a merchant's mark, and a letter "R" in old English. This is probably one Robert Pagge and his wife, who are stated in the history of Cirencester as being commemorated by a fine brass in the church. A scroll issues from the woman's mouth with these words, "That to the Trinity for us;" the rest is lost, but the words most probably were "pray, singe, or read," as examples are to be found in other parts of the kingdom.[1]

Close to this is the valuable brass of William Prelatte and his two wives: dated 1462 (2 Ed. IV.), and the costume may well be compared with that of R. Dixton, which is only a quarter of a century earlier. The variations in the dress will fully repay careful study; here we see mail again visible, the haussecol of mail

[1]Bigland happily has preserved the inscription of this and other memorials, stating in a note that he has "given them as before the mutilation from a manuscript of Thomas Carles, M.A., vicar, dated Dec. 8, 1673. obligingly communicated by the Rev. Mr. Kilner."

Hic jacet Robertus Pagge cum Margareta sibi sponsa prole fecunda.

Vicinis gratus fuerat mercator amatus
Pacificus, plenis manibus subventor egenis,
Ecclesiisque viis ornator, et his reparator,
Mill' C quater X quater anno, sed Aprilis
Octava luce mortem p' transiit ipse,
Celi solamen Deus illi conferat. Amen.

He states that on a Pilaster between him and his wife is engraven the usual diagram of the Trinity, and on a Label "That to the Trinite for us pray, singe, or read." Pagge's Label it would seem was then already lost.

protecting the neck, while gussets of the same material are to be seen in the joints of the plate; the visor is raised, showing the features; gauntlets, very much resembling a tortoise shell, cover the back of the hands; the fingers are bare; round the neck is a ribbon or collar, to which is attached a sun, the emblem of the House of York: (W. Prelatte was, I believe, steward of the Gloucestershire estates of the Duke of York). The sollerets differ from those in the Dixton brass, in being laminated throughout, and the rowelled spurs have no strap beneath the feet; the placcates and coudières, the latter of which are fan-shaped and beginning to take the extravagant size which afterwards they had, also are to be remarked and contrasted with those worn by Dixton; the sword belt shows the buckle by which it is fastened.

The two wives wear the horned head-dress—a peculiar costume long in high favour with the ladies, in spite of the severe censures launched against it both by the clergy and laymen—the hair being visible beneath. They are clad in long kirtles, with high waists, the sleeves and collars, which open and lie back leaving the neck bare, are guarded with fur. One wife wears a ribbon with a sun, like her husband; the second one wears a cross in lieu of the sun; at the feet of each wife is a little dog, with a collar of bells. The inscription is thus worded[1] "Hic sepeliuntur Willms Prelatte Armiger specialissim' benefactor hui' Capelle Agnes nup' uxor Johannis Martyn et Johana filia et heres Ricardi de Cobyndon Relicta Johannis Twynyho de Cayforde in comitatu Som's Armigeri uxores ipius Willi qui quide Willms Prelatte obijt in bigilia Ascencionis d'nice xpi° die maij Anno d'ni M°. CCCC° Xij° quor' p'piciet' de' A." The indents of five shields remain.

The brass of William Prelatte and his two wives is engraved in Lyson's Gloucestershire, pl. 16, where the inscription is not correctly given, either in the letter-press or on the engraving; in both *aibus* is inserted, which word is omitted in the inscription—simply because there was not room for it—and in the former, after heres is omitted *Ricardi de Cobyndon relicta.*

The arms of these two husbands, Prelatte and Twynyho, are in the spandrels of the east window of Bagendon Church.

In Trinity Chapel also is the brass of an ecclesiastic, vested in alb, stole, amice, chasuble, and maniple; and valuable as having the chalice and host in the hands. The inscription is "**Orate pro anima dñi Radulphi Parsons quondam capellani p'petue cantarie Ste Trinitatis in hac eccl'ia fundate qui obiit xxix. die Augusti A° d'ni M. CCCC° lxxviii cuj' aïe. p'picietur deus. Amen.**"

Close to this are two nondescript brasses, one representing a civilian in the furred gown of the 15th century, while the head is of the 14 century work; the other has the lower part of a female figure enveloped in the flowing kirtle of the 14th, or early part of the 15th, century, joined to a head of a much later date, of far inferior execution, and different metal.

Returning now to the Lady Chapel. There is another ecclesiastical figure, clad only in a cassock, valuable on account of its rarity.[1] The fragments of inscription at the foot have no relation to the figure.

In this same chapel are the brasses of a merchant and his wife, which have been much injured; they lie at the head of the oldest brass in the church, and, like it, close to the north wall. The male figure is dressed in a long gown, descending to the feet, bound round the waist by a girdle, which falls down the front of the figure, and supporting on the right side a rosary; the sleeves are loose at the wrist, showing the sleeves of the under tunic. The female figure wears a kirtle, falling in folds over the feet, surmounted by a robe with a standing collar, fastened at the throat; the head is covered with a coverchef falling behind the figure. There is no name nor inscription of any kind, or trace of any—but the brass is most probably late in 14th century, or early in the 15th century.

There is also the brass of a man and his wife, evidently another wife has been there, and children also. The man wears a gown falling to the feet, the sleeves are large at the wrist, and lined and

[1] See Haines, Ed. 1848, Introduction, p, ccciij.

faced with fur; from the girdle hang a rosary on the right, and the gypcière on the left side; on the right shoulder rests a cap of a peculiar construction, in high favour with all classes of persons during the reign of Henry VI., and very often worn throughout the remainder of the 15th century; in form the cap was circular, like a turban, and was made of a roll of cloth, or some rich material, from which on one side a long and broad band or scarf hung down to the ground, unless tucked in the girdle or wound round the neck; while to the other side of the cap was attached a kind of loose hood, which fell, negligently, about the head and shoulders. In this brass the scarf is represented as hanging down in front of the figure. The wife's figure is clad in a flowing kirtle down to the feet, with a tightly-fitting bodice, cut low and square on the breast, showing the under tunic round the throat; the sleeves have large cuffs of fur, and there is a cincture round the waist; she wears the horned head-dress, hanging in folds behind the figure. Part of the inscription only remains, and reads thus "**qui quidem Johannes obiit decimo nono**;" and in another part of the chapel are the following words, which evidently, from the style of lettering, belong to this brass, "**mensis Julij anno domini millimo cccc° nonages' septimo quor' aĩbus.** From the mouths of the two figures are scrolls issuing, and bearing the following words:—man's scroll, "**Scta Trinatas unus Deus miserere nobis**;" woman's "**Spiritus s'cti** (sic) **de'miserere nobis.**"[1]

Near this are two female figures—small, but well executed—(the male one in the centre is lost), with some children at the

[1]This inscription is also preserved by Bigland, 1-357.

Orate pro a'i'abus Johannis Bennett ac Agnetis uxorn' suar', qui quidem Joh'es obiit decimo nono die Mensis Julij, anno d'ni Millimo CCCC, nonages' septimo quorum a'i'bus.

From the other wife a label with—Fili, redemptor mundi miserere nobis.

It is singular that the name, effigy, and scroll of the second wife have disappeared.

His merchant's mark resembles a cross, with knops at each end; and on the long staff, a St. Andrew's cross, with similar knops.

feet. The two wives are represented as wearing a close-fitting kirtle to the feet, with tight sleeves, furred at the wrist, and a square cut collar; the dress is secured at the waist by a massive embroidered cincture, which slung loosely round the person, and passing through an embroidered loop (the figure on the left hand having the larger loop of the two), falls down with a long pendant end in front of the figure, nearly to the feet; on their heads they wear the *kennel* or *angular* head-dress, so generally worn during the latter part of the reign of Henry VII., and which continued in fashion some time after the accession of Henry VIII. It was made of velvet or embroidered cloth, sometimes of lighter materials, and being pointed somewhat stiffly over the forehead, descended in lappets on the shoulders and back. A similar head-dress is worn to the present day in some of the valleys of the Pyrenees. From the style of costume, therefore, in this brass we may fix the date as being of the end of the 15th or early in the 16th century.[1]

Not far from this, but nearer to the east end of the chapel, is the brass of John Gunter and his wife, who are represented in the stiff dresses of the latter part of the 16th and early part of the 17th century, from Elizabeth's later years to the beginning of Charles 1st's reign. The man wears a long furred robe, the sleeves of which are ornamented with velvet, and showing the sleeves of the doublet beneath; round his neck is a ruff, and frills round his wrists; the head is bare, and the beard is cut in the quaint and formal way not uncommon in the time of James I. The woman wears a broad-brimmed hat, a ruff round the neck, and a stiff-bodied, full-bottomed dress with tight sleeves. The inferiority of the execution of this brass to those of earlier date is very apparent, and the attempt to give the effect of shading by

[1] On this slab remain the indents and nails of the two figures, male and female, both somewhat larger than the existing effigies. Our Archæologist, the Rev. W. Dyke, is disposed to consider the present effigies as those of the children of the persons represented by the missing brasses, but in this opinion I do not concur, as I never remember an instance of children being delineated otherwise than as very young, and in a diminishing scale. Probably the slab was used for an earlier memorial, which, being lost, some members of the same family made use of it as a foundation for their own brasses.

means of hatched lines is very poor ; it is, however, very usual in brasses of this and subsequent periods. The inscription is in capitals "Mr. John Gvnter and Alice, his wife, being fvll as | of years so of bovnty and charity are gathered | to their fathers in peace, shee was here bvryed | 18^{s} martii A°. Dni., 1626, Aged 86 yeares. Hee was | bvryed at Kyntbvry in the covnty of Berks | with the like monument, 2do Janvarii A°. Dni. | 1624, aged 89 years.

"Io^{s}. Plat. Ar. Eorvnd^{m}. Gener et Exec^{r} Hoc Posvit."

In this chapel also are many inscriptions arranged without any order, and evidently placed without any idea of marking the spot of burial ; and it is to be regretted that several bits of inscription have, at some time or other, been separated from the brasses to which they clearly belong ; for example, on a slip in the chapel, close to the effigy of Sir W. Master, is the following brass inscription in raised letters:—"**Vicinis gratus fuerat mercator amatus,**" which from its style, I should say ought to belong to the brass in the Trinity Chapel, which I have supposed to be that of Robert Pagge.

On the wall are several figures of children, an angel,[1] lilies, and inscriptions, which, although mixed up together in a heterogenous way, are likely to be preserved ; one inscription, a fine and quaint one in black letter, is as follows : "**Reyse gracious Jhu to endless lyfe, at thy grete dome where all schall apere, Hughe | Norys, Groc' & Johan hys wyf nowe dede in graue & beryed here, yo' p'yers desyring | There soules for chere the f. day of July, the yere our Lord god, M.CCCCC prix.**" Another curious inscription, on the floor of the chapel, close to the east end, is to the memory of Hodgkinson Paine, who was killed at the Siege of Cirencester by Prince Rupert. He is said to have fallen with the colours (Parliamentarian) in his hand, close to where the Barton Mills now are. The inscription is this :— "Here lyeth the body of Hodgkinson Paine, clothier, who died ye 3rd of Feb., 1642."

[1]The angel is doubtless Gabriel and is one of the group of the Annunciation from a slab lying below it ; the indent of the B. Virgin is on one side of a very pretty lily in a flower-pot, while this angel would fit the indent on the other.

"The poore's supplie his life and calling grac't,
'till warre's made rent, and PAINE from poore displac't
But what made poore unfortunate PAINE blest,
by warre they lost their PAINE, yet found no rest,
Hee looseing quiet by warre, yet gained ease;
by it PAINE'S life began, and paine did cease.
And from ye troubles here him God did sever
by death to life, by warre to peace for ever."

Close by is this inscription to his wife:—"Here lieth the body of Elizabeth Paine, deceased the 8th day of January, an. do., 1668.

"One was our thought, one life wee sought,
One rest we both intended;
Our bodies haue to sleep one graue,
Our soules to GOD ascended."

On the wall of the nave, close to the organ, is a small brass, to the memory of Philip Marner, who is represented bare-headed, dressed in a long gown, with a staff in his hand, a pair of shears over his head, and a dog at his feet. The inscription is this:—

"In lent, by will, a sermon he deuised,
and yerely precher with a noble prised;
Seuen nobles he did giue ye poore, for to defend,
and 80li to XVI men did lend,
In Ciceter, Burford, Abington, and Tetburie,
Euer to be to them a stocke yerely."
"Phillip Marner, who died in the yere 1587."

Other inscriptions will amuse, and re-pay the trouble of deciphering, by showing the variations in the style of lettering, and the gradual decline of the art; the later engravings not being to be compared in artistic execution to the earlier ones.

In concluding this very brief, and necessarily defective, sketch of the brasses in this noble church, I cannot refrain from pressing the search after the information which these monuments of mediæval art confer, not only upon archæologists, but upon every one who would desire to attain to a thorough knowledge of history. The result is well worthy of the trouble, and care, and labour involved; for monumental brasses, with comparatively few excep-

tions, present the only existing portraits we possess of the heroes of ages famed for chivalry and arms, and also of worthies no less distinguished in more peaceful pursuits. They are thus extremely valuable; the herald, the genealogist, the chronologist, the architect, the artist, the palæographer, and the general antiquary, will each and all find much to interest and instruct them in their several branches of knowledge; and they furnish us, not only with well-defined ideas of celebrated persons, but make us acquainted with the manners and customs of their times; while to history they give a body and a substance, by placing before us those things which language, with all its power, is deficient in describing.

Notices of Recent Archæological Publications.

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE DEANERY OF CRAVEN, IN THE COUNTY OF YORK.

By Thomas Dunham Whitaker, LL.D., F.S.A., Vicar of Whalley, in Lancashire. Third Edition, with many Additions and Corrections; edited by A. W. Morant, F.S.A. Leeds: Joseph Dodgson. London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin. 1878.

A third edition of Dr. Whitaker's "History of the Deanery of Craven" has recently been issued by Mr. Joseph Dodgson, of Leeds, under the editorship of Mr. A. W. Morant. The Second Edition was published as long ago as 1812, and the work had become very scarce and costly. All who delight in topographical history ought, therefore, to be grateful to Mr. Dodgson for the spirit which prompted him to bring this valuable work within the reach of a greater number of persons.

This new edition is based upon that published under the care of Mr. Whitaker himself, in 1812, as above cited, and for its illustration, Mr. Dodgson has secured, by purchase, the original copper-plates, &c., used for that edition, and is fortunate in having selected an able editor. But though based upon the second edition, it is by no means limited to it. The additions are extensive and important—especially in heraldry and genealogy, and in the printing of monumental inscriptions—but all the new matter is carefully distinguished from the former edition by being printed within brackets.

Skipton Castle, founded by Robert de Romillé before the end of the 11th century, has been surveyed, and a plan is for the first time published. Plans of Salley and Kirkstall Abbeys are also introduced, and that of Bolton has been corrected and recent discoveries added.

Special attention, as might be expected, has been given to the great family of Clifford, Earls of Cumberland, in which family, in the 16th century, the whole of the lands in the district had become vested as Superior Lords, except the lands which had been alienated in the foundation of the great Religious Houses.

The pedigrees are large, and would seem to have been carefully prepared, though they are not so full in respect to references to Inquisitions, Wills, and other documentary evidence, as we like to see; and, moreover, there is one considerable drawback to their usefulness, at least in the comfort of using them, from their having been printed on large sheets and so folded that, in many cases, it is impossible to open them without injury. Moreover, folded sheets always make a book look very untidy. The arms, the printing of which is a new feature in this edition, are very boldly drawn and well engraved.

The space at our disposal will not admit of our entering upon a lengthened notice of this work, but we would wish to lay before our readers three Saxon Crosses now existing at Ilkley. These three crosses are now placed on the south side of the churchyard, as they are shewn in the following engraving, for which, and for the other engravings, we are indebted to the publishers.

These crosses have been described by the late Mr. Wardell as under :— "That in the centre is the most entire, and is about eight feet in height; the others have been seriously mutilated by having been, at one time, made use of as gate-posts, but are now, it is hoped, placed beyond the reach of further injury. These venerable relics are sepulchural monuments of the Saxon period, and of the same description as those of which only

a few fragments remain at Leeds, Dewsbury, and other places. They are elaborately carved with scroll-work and with figures of men, birds, and animals. The *centre one*, which is sixteen inches by fourteen inches at the base, tapering to eleven inches square at the top, bears, on the north side, the symbols of the Evangelists in oblong compartments, human figures in flowing robes, each with the head of the animal which is his symbol, surrounded by a glory and holding a book of his gospel. St. John, the uppermost, has the head of an eagle; St. Luke, the next, that of a bull; St. Mark, that of a lion; and St. Matthew, a human figure. The south side contains the figure of our Lord, and there appears to have been an inscription above his head, then a device composed of two animals whose lower extremities are knotted together; and then two other monstrous figures. The remaining sides have scroll-work, with representations of fruit and leaves. The *eastern one* is about five feet in height and one foot square at the base, tapering to nine inches at the top, very much defaced and worn—having been used as a gate-post. It bears two men facing each other; then two animals with their lower extremities interlaced; then two others; and, lastly, two birds. The remaining two sides—for the fourth is mutilated—are composed of scroll-work. The *western one* is about four feet in height, and much more worn and defaced than the others; it has on one side a scroll and the figure of an ecclesiastic in robes, holding a book; the designs on the other side are almost obliterated. In this stone the mortice hole for fixing the cross is yet to be seen."

In the year 1868 a fragment of another cross of this period was found on removing the foundations of some old cottages nearly opposite to the church. It has on the upper portion a human figure, with hands raised in the act of prayer. The other sides bear the usual scroll-work ornamentation.

Under the head of the Parish of Giggleswick a description is given of some extensive caves, which have been found in the neighbourhood of Settle, in that parish, the most important being the well-known "Victoria Cave." They are situate at a height of about 1,450 feet above the level of the sea. There are three large ill-defined Chambers, filled with debris, nearly to the roof. The deposits therein, which show that the cave was inhabited for a considerable time, have been, and still are being, carefully examined. The cave would appear to have been first occupied in Pleistocene period, by hyænas, which dragged into it the bodies of

the woolly rhinoceros, reindeer, red-deer, bison, horse, (brown, grizzly, and great cave) bears. The bones found are all knawed and scored.

It is stated that Mr. Boyd Dawkins considers, judging from the nature and depth of the deposit, that about 5,000 years ago the cave was inhabited by man in the Neolithic Age; and in the deposit of that period, charcoal, a bone harpoon, a bone bead, rude flint flakes, and broken bones were found; these were covered by a deposit of silt, drift, &c., and then remains of the Brit-Welsh were met with. Here were found bronze brooches, finger rings, and Roman coins. These caves have been fully described by Mr. Boyd Dawkins, in his "Cave Hunting," and by Mr. Tiddeman in his Reports to the British Association.

There were also found, during the restoration of the Parish Church of Burnsal, several remains of crosses, probably of Saxon date, which are now preserved in the church. There was also found, under the floor of the North Chancel Aisle of the same church, a beautiful carving in alabaster, representing the Adoration of the Magi. This is preserved in the vestry in a carved oak frame, and protected by glass. When first found the colours and gilding were tolerably perfect, but it peeled off when exposed to the atmosphere.

This relic was probably a portion of the reredos of the altar of the chapel in which it was found.

HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND REIGN OF RICHARD THE THIRD; TO WHICH IS ADDED THE STORY OF PERKIN WARBECK, from original documents, by James Gairdner. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1878.

Any work proceeding from the pen of Mr. Gairdner, on account of his high character and ability, is entitled to the most careful consideration. In that before us he has undertaken to solve one of the most complex mysteries of English History, and, after cautiously weighing what he has written, we must confess to a feeling of disappointment, for the darkness of the period treated of does not appear to us to have been in the slightest degree removed. That there are considerable difficulties to be overcome no one will deny. Our author himself avows that at one time he "More than doubted that principal crime of which he (King Richard) is so generally reputed guilty; and as for everything else laid to his charge, it was easy to shew that the evidence was still more unsatisfactory." We, therefore, naturally look for some conclusive evidence whereon he changed his mind, but we find none. In coming to the conclusion at which he has arrived, he would seem to have relied upon *tradition*, and adds: "I must record my impression that a minute study of the facts of Richard's life has tended more and more to convince me of the general fidelity of the portrait with which we have been made familiar by Shakespeare and Sir Thomas More."

We have not space to enter upon a discussion of this subject, which would require a lengthened treatise, but, without in any way underrating the value of tradition, we consider that to be trustworthy it must, at least, be continuous from the time of the alleged events. In the case before us, however, it is tainted from the commencement. The rumours upon which it is founded did not arise until long after Richard, and almost all contemporary witnesses, had been buried in the grave; and in circumstances which made it the policy and interest of the Usurper (which Richard, whatever his crimes may have been, in fact was not) and his successors to blacken the memory of Richard, and the whole house of York and its supporters, as greatly as possible. A tradition founded upon such rumours, without further foundation, can scarcely be received as historical.

Mr. Gairdner also rests upon Shakespeare and Sir Thomas More as authorities, With regard to Shakespeare's Plays, high as their character is as dramatic pieces, they can no more be accepted as historical than can Sir Walter Scott's Waverly Novels; and Sir Thomas More's so-called History is so inconsistent in itself, and so contradicted by known historical facts, that, like Horace Walpole, we would not do that great and good man the injustice to believe that he ever intended his treatise to be received as history.

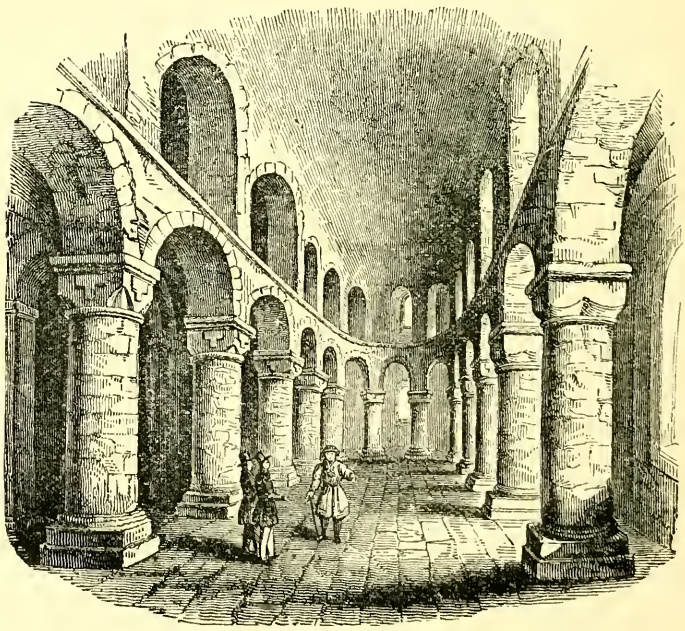
Mr. Gairdner's is a very interesting volume, and will be read with pleasure by all, and will doubtless be very convincing to those who have never critically examined the difficulties of the period to which it relates; but we must add that it leaves the guilt or innocence of Richard, as regards the atrocious crime laid to his charge, just as it found it.

NOTICES OF THE HISTORIC PERSONS BURIED IN THE CHAPEL OF ST. PETER AD VINCULA, IN THE TOWER OF LONDON, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE SUPPOSED REMAINS OF QUEEN ANNE BOLEYN.

BY

DOYNE C. BELL, F.S.A.—Murray, 1877.

THERE are few places in England of greater interest, or which produce more sad reflections, than the Tower of London. How many guilty, and how many innocent personages have found their last resting-places within the walls of St. Peter ad Vincula! These are the first impressions which force themselves upon the mind in taking up Mr. Doyne C. Bell's interesting volume. Primarily, this work is a record of the process of restoration of that ancient chapel. Though in external appearance it is a structure of the late Tudor period, it is of great antiquity, founded, probably, but little later than the Chapel of St. John in the White Tower—one of the most pure examples we possess of a Norman Chapel.[1]



Chapel of St. John, in the White Tower.

The Chapel of St. Peter was certainly in existence in the reign of King John, and was so far decayed in the reign of his son and successor, Henry

1 We are indebted to the courtesy of the Publisher, Mr. Murray, for the electrotypes, of the blocks used in this notice.

III., as to need, in 1241, considerable repairs and decorations. In 1251, a ring of bells was ordered for it by the King, and on the death of that monarch, in 1273, mass was said for the repose of his soul in this chapel. Some remains of this early chapel may be discerned in the crypt, but it was almost entirely rebuilt in the reign of Edward I., and the building then erected is mainly the present structure, though it was extensively altered in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII.

Having again fallen into great decay, in 1876, for sanitary and other reasons, it was determined to undertake its complete restoration, and Mr. Bell's book is an authentic record of the operation, and of the discoveries made in carrying out the work.

We have too often just cause to complain of the great want of circumspection shewn in the restoration of our ancient churches, but in the case before us we can, without hesitation, commend the care and solicitous reverence exhibited by all concerned ; in obedience, we are glad to add, to the express injunction of the Queen.

The operations were conducted by the Board of Works, under the vigilant superintendence of the Chief Officers of the Tower and of the Lord Chamberlain's Department, of whom Mr. Bell was one. All these gentlemen would seem generally to have been present whenever the floor of the chapel was disturbed, and, with the assistance of Dr. Mouat, superintended the removal and identification of the remains discovered. Among these, in a place disturbed by subsequent interments at a remote date, not lying in their original order, but heaped together in a smaller space, were found the bones of a female of between 25 and 30 years of age, which were believed by those present to be the remains of Queen Anne Boleyn. The following is Dr. Mouat's memorandum describing these remains :—

Queen Anne Boleyn.

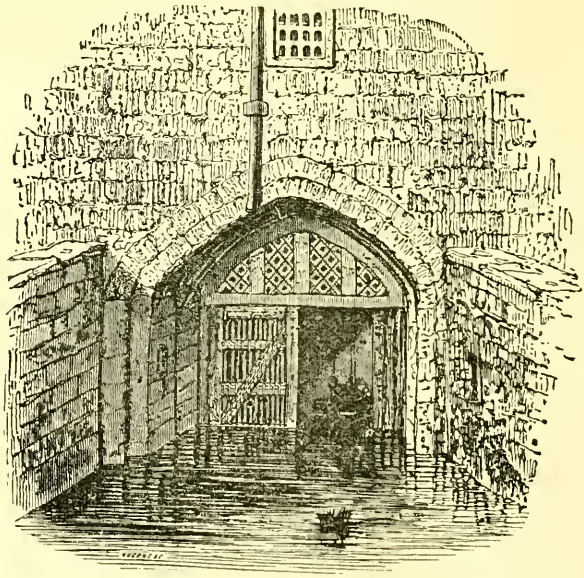
"The bones found in the place where Queen Anne Boleyn is said to have been buried are certainly those of a female in the prime of life, all perfectly consolidated and symmetrical, and belong to the same person.

"The bones of the head indicate a well-formed round skull with an intellectual forehead, straight orbital ridge, large eyes, oval face, and rather square full chin. The remains of the vertebræ, and the bones of the lower limbs, indicate a well-formed woman of middle height, with a short and slender neck. The ribs shew depth and roundness of chest. The hand and feet bones indicate delicate and well-shaped hands and feet, with tapering fingers and a narrow foot.

"They are all consistent with the published descriptions of the Queen, and the bones of the skull might well belong to the person portrayed in the painting by Holbein, in the collection of the Earl of Warwick."

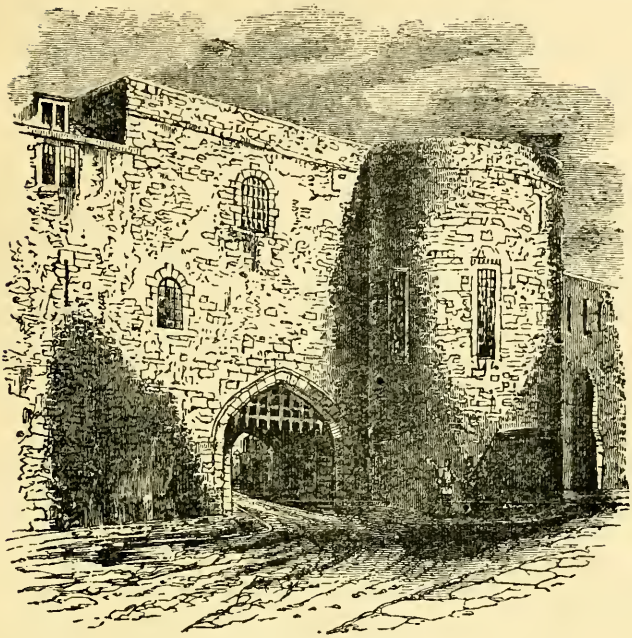
Our author, however, does not confine himself to the sad task of describing the dis-interment and the re-interment of the illustrious dead of which he was an eye-witness, but gives some interesting sketches of the Tower itself, at once fortress, palace, and prison, and furnishes brief

biographical notices of those who were there imprisoned and went forth to die on the Green or on Tower Hill. The illustrations are numerous and good. The following engraving is a view of Traitors' Gate, from the river, at which landed the above-mentioned Queen Anne on being sent up, a prisoner, from Greenwich; and here also landed her haughty daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, when, a few years afterwards, she was imprisoned by her sister, Queen Mary. She refused to land, then sharply rejecting an offer of assistance, she sprang out upon the mud. "Are all those harnessed men, there, for me?" she said to Sir John Gage, who was waiting with the Tower Guard. "No, madame," Gage answered. "Yes," she said, "I know it is so; it needed it not for me, being but a weak woman. I never thought to come in here as a prisoner." She went on, turning to the soldiers: "I pray you all, good fellows and friends, bear me witness that I come in no traitor, but as true a woman to the Queen's Majesty as any is now living, and therein will I take my death." She threw herself down upon a wet stone. Lord Chandos begged her to come under shelter out of the rain. "Better sitting here than in a worse place," she said, "I know not whither you will bring me."—*Froude vi., pp.* 209, 210.



Traitors' Gate, from the River.

The following engraving is a view of the Bloody Tower, so called from being inaccurately thought the scene of the supposed murder of the young sons of Edward IV. It was the place of imprisonment of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who, for aspiring to the hand of Mary, Queen of Scots, thence in 1572 went to his execution on Tower Hill, and was buried in the Chapel of St. Peter.



The "Bloody Tower."

The Bloody Tower, together with the Chapel of St. John in the White Tower, and the Council Chamber over it—in which the Council sat when Richard, Duke of Gloucester, then Protector of the Kingdom, striking his fist upon the table, ordered Lord Hastings to instant execution—were, for many years, a depository for a large portion of the Public Records, now removed to the New Building in Fetter Lane.

Of all the noble personages, however, who have suffered for their crimes, or for their political offences, real or supposed, no one has excited so much universal sympathy and compassion as the young, innocent, gentle, learned, and unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, who, as the tool of the ambition of others, for thirteen days exercised regal authority as Queen

which name is cut in the wall of the Prisoners' Room in the Beauchamp Tower, and is supposed to have been carved by the hand of her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, or by one of his brothers, who were there imprisoned.

DURSLEY AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD; BEING HISTORICAL MEMORIALS OF DURSLEY, BEVERSTON, CAM, AND ULEY, By JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Beverston. London: Simpkin and Marshall; Dursley: Whitmore, 1877.

The name of the author of this little work is a guarantee of its excellence, and we hail its issue with much satisfaction. It would appear to be the commencement of a series of "Chapters of Parochial History," the carrying out of which design has been, at least for a while, interrupted, in consequence of the author having been called upon to undertake literary labours of more important character. We trust, however, that the time is not far distant when he will be at liberty to resume these interesting sketches of Gloucestershire parishes.

The author says, very truly, "There are few parishes of which there is not something interesting to be recorded, and few of which the records are satisfactorily dealt with in county histories." This could scarcely be otherwise, and it is greatly to be desired that other parochial clergymen, like Mr. Blunt, would gather up the fragments, which are at their fingers' ends if they would only search for them. MR. BLUNT has made good use of the parish registers, churchwardens' accounts, and other parochial documents, from which he has drawn many interesting particulars, illustrative of manners and customs. The singular chambered-tumulus near Uley, and the Roman encampment at Uley-bury, are briefly described. Family history and the devolution of Manors have also received his attention. The space at our disposal will not admit of our doing more than glance at this pleasing little volume, but it may be worthy of notice that Mr. Blunt points out that there is some reason for thinking that Shakespeare was once a resident in the town of Dursley, and that members of his family lived there down to recent times. He comes to this conclusion from the intimate acquaintance with Dursley and its inhabitants shown in the poet's writings, several passages of which are cited, and extracts from the parish registers are given, establishing the fact that a family named Shakespeare resided in Dursley and the neighbourhood, from 1570 down to 1754. Mr. Blunt also mentions that there is a pathway in the woods near the town traditionally known as "Shakespeare's Walk;" and he suggests the probability that Shakespeare lived among his friends at Dursley during the unaccounted-for interval between his removal from Warwickshire and his appearance in London. Some descendants of the family referred to still exist, as small freeholders, in the adjoining parish of Newington-Bagpath, and claim kindred with the poet. This is a curious point, and deserves further investigation.

The Book is well got up, and published at the sole risk of Mr. Whitmore; and we trust he will receive the encouragement he so well deserves from the members of this Society.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF CHARLTON KINGS, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

With extracts from the Parish Registers, and some Churchyard Inscriptions, by the Rev. BEAVER H. BLACKER, M.A. Privately Printed, 1876.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF CHELTENHAM, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

By the Rev. BEAVER H. BLACKER, M.A. Privately Printed, 1877.

MR. BLACKER, who is known as the author of Brief Sketches of the Parishes of Booterstown and Donnybrook, in the County of Dublin, has done good service to the science of Genealogy in transcribing and printing the monumental inscriptions in the Churches to which the above works refer, and we hope he will continue his useful labours in this direction. The transcripts, which appear to have been made with great accuracy, were originally published in the "Miscellanea Heraldica et Genealogica," but in the works before us, the author has collected them together, and has furnished an index to the names occurring therein.

MEMORANDA—HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL—RELATING TO THE PARISH OF KELSTON, IN THE COUNTY OF SOMERSET.

By the Rev. FRANCIS J. POYNTON, M.A., Rector. Part I. Privately Printed, 1878.

THESE memoranda, which also appeared in various numbers of the "Miscellanea Heraldica et Genealogica," are collected here in a more compact form. The author gives a sketch of the devolution of the Manor and Advowson of the Church. The name by which it is now known does not appear in Domesday, but the author supposes it to have been the Domesday Manor of Hengstostrig, now known as "Henstridge Hill," a very prominent object in the parish. This manor, before the Norman Conquest, had been given to the Abbey of Shaftesbury, in which house it continued vested until the dissolution of the Abbey, after which it passed to the ancient family of Harrington of Kelveston.

The author gives a carefully compiled list of the institutions to the Rectory, with biographical notes of the several Rectors, and *fac-similes* of their respective signatures, with other particulars of the parish, and especially of the family of Harrington. This is another example of the good services parochial clergymen may render to historical knowledge and confer on the literary public if they will employ their leisure in investigating the records of their respective parishes.

GLEANINGS FROM THE MUNICIPAL AND CATHEDRAL RECORDS, RELATIVE TO THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF EXETER, by W. COTTON, F.S.A., and the Ven. HENRY WOOLLCOMBE, Archdeacon of Barnstaple. Exeter: Townsend, 1877.

Much has been heretofore done for the history of the Ever-Faithful City of Exeter, the Crown of the West, by JOHN HOKER, ISAAK, the late DR. OLIVER, and others. Recently, however, the City and Cathedral authorities have vied with each other in the examination and arrangement of the valuable archives at the Guildhall and Chapter House. Availing themselves of the advantage of access to these depositories, the authors in the treatise before us, have produced a very interesting work. The chief interest centres in the graphic description of the "Siege of Exeter in 1549," and in "Exeter during the Great Rebellion." The latter section gives us some curious glimpses of the so-called religious state of the city during that sad period. The records of the criminal court show how the new tyranny affected the social liberties of the people in ever-increasing restrictions. Vagrants are whipped at the ring; it is unlawful to eat anything but cold meat on the Lord's Day; and very numerous are the convictions for baking provisions, for roasting and dressing meat, for even heating the oven. George Manning and Hugh Fry are presented for being in Manning's House last Sabbath day and eating a roasted pig together; Philip Blake, his wife, and wife's sister, for walking in the fields on the Lord's day; and a boy is convicted for watering a horse in sermon-time, and fined five shillings. It was ordered on 7th June, 1656, that: "All who have the care and education of children and servants under fourteen years of age must not permit them on the Lord's day to use or exercise any sport, pleasure or pastime, or be present at the same. All persons above fourteen for such offence to forfeit 5s., and parents and guardians of those under fourteen to be fined 1s., or be put in the stocks for three hours." Complaints are made that children have been seen playing in the churchyard of the "late" Cathedral on the Lord's day, and a reward is offered to informers. On 6th April, 1658, a cage is made and set up about the "middle of St. Peter's Churchyard, for putting of such boys and others in as shall disturb the ministers in sermon-time." There are numerous other notes—religious, political, and social—but we must not proceed further, referring our readers to the work itself, only expressing a hope that the authors will issue a second series.

THE GENEALOGIST, No. 23. July, 1878, edited by GEORGE W. MARSHALL, LL.D., F.S.A. London: Golding and Lawrence.

This periodical is the successor of the "Herald and Genealogist," edited by the late JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A., until his death, and like its predecessor, may be termed a critical review of Heraldry and Genealogy. In the present number is an examination and exposure, by H. Barr Tomkins, Barrister-at-Law, of the claim of Dr. K. W. Cumming to the

dignity of Baronet of Culter, which, by advertisement in the "Times" newspaper of 2nd March last, he notifies that he has assumed by Deed Poll, which "Deed Poll," he states "was executed by me in lieu of recording my pedigree in one of the Colleges of Arms, and obtaining a certificate therefrom." This needs no comment. The promulgation of concocted pedigrees, and the unwarrantable assumption of titles and arms, is a great and growing evil; and a publication which undertakes the invidious task of exposing such unjustifiable claims is entitled to the support of all who desire to repress fraud and encourage genealogical and historical accuracy. The Herald's Visitation of Derbyshire in 1662 is being printed in this work with the blazonry of the arms.

THE ROMANS OF BRITAIN, By Henry Charles Coote, F.S.A.

London: Francis Northgate, 1878.

This is a very important and remarkable book. We may not agree in all the theories of the author, but it cannot be denied that he has bestowed a vast amount of learning and careful thought upon his work. Moreover, the work treats of the most dark period of the history of our country, and, incontestably, it removes a considerable amount of the obscurity in which the epoch to which it relates has been enveloped. The author's contention is that upon the Conquest of Britain by the Romans, the inhabitants were brought under thraldom, but not destroyed. The country was parcelled out into *territoria* and *centuria*, after the Roman system; but that the nationality of the Britons, or rather the Belgic inhabitants, by whom the Celtic population had been previously driven westwards, continued to exist unimpaired in numbers, and unchanged by any of the effects and consequences of the conquest; they were simply reduced from proprietors to tillers of the soil. When, however, in the beginning of the fifth century—in consequence of the troubles of Rome respecting the contested Imperial dignity—the Roman army in Britain and the civil functionaries were withdrawn, the Imperial regimen ceased to exist; but the country adapted itself to the new circumstances, and assumed an independent autonomy. Being greatly weakened, they became subject to the incursions of their old enemies, the Picts and Scots; to protect themselves from whom they entered into an alliance with a tribe of Teutons, who, having assisted them to defeat their northern enemies, sought an occasion of quarrel and seized the sovereignty of the country. Numerous kingdoms were formed, and the remaining Romans and the native population were reduced to the condition of a subject race. The Romans were, however, allowed to retain their cities and towns, and enjoy and administer their own laws and

religion. And the author shews that the principles and procedure of the Roman jurisprudence have very largely influenced those still existing.

Mr. Cootes' position is, that throughout all the turbulence and vicissitudes through which this country passed for a thousand years prior to the Norman Conquest, the Roman people maintained their national continuity and national institutions almost unchanged, and that they still survive. He has argued with great force and accumen, and it must be admitted that upon many points his conclusions are unassailable, nevertheless there are difficulties to be explained before we can receive all his deductions. The book is very interesting, and most ably written, and will re-pay a careful study.

THE VISITATION OF THE COUNTY OF WARWICK IN 1619, edited by JOHN FEATHERSTON, F.S.A., Harleian Society, 1877.

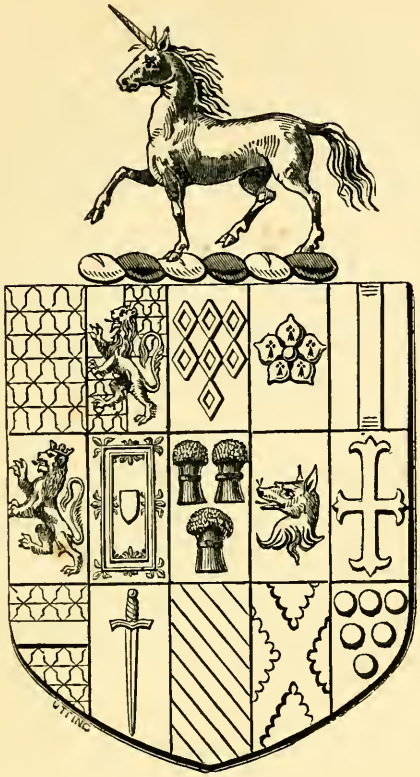
This Society is doing good work in the cause of Genealogy. The last volume issued is an exceedingly handsome one. It contains the Visitation of Warwickshire in 1619, by the famous William Camden, Clarencieux King of Arms, from a MS., of which the greater part is in Camden's own hand-writing; but neither this nor the official copy in the Heralds' College appear to be the original record. In the British Museum (Harl., MS., 1195) are some of the original loose papers, signed by the representatives of the families whose pedigrees are recorded.

The last Visitation of Warwickshire was made in 1682, the original MS. of which is in the Heralds' College. There is a transcript of it, we are informed, in the library of the late Sir Thomas Phillips, and these, we believe, are the only copies extant.

In the volume before us is given an alphabetical list of the pedigrees in this last Visitation, made by the editor some twenty years ago, through the courtesy of a Herald now deceased.

The volume appears to have been carefully edited; and all the arms are engraved in outline, the blazons being given underneath. We annex the arms of Ferrers, of Tamworth, as an illustration. It is, however, to be regretted that the blazonry marks were not shown upon the shield, and the appropriation of the arms given below, instead of in a separate table, from which we have introduced it, within parentheses, in the blazon.

We observe that the Visitation of Gloucestershire in 1623, is on the Society's list of prospective publications, and, when published, we trust that it will be illustrated in the same manner as that under notice, but this can only be done through the liberal assistance of the county gentry, and those interested in the work; as was the case, we understand, with respect to the Visitation of Warwickshire.



Arms.—Quarterly of fifteen, *Vairé, or and gules* (Ferrers of Chartley.) 2.—*Quarterly* (*untinctured*) *and vair, a lion rampant.*[1] (Peverell). 3.—*Gules, seven mascles conjoined*, 3, 3, & 1, *or.* (Ferrers of Groby). 4.—*Gules, a cinquefoil erm.* (Bellamont) 5.—*Gules, a pale or.* (Grentemisnil). 6.—*Azure, a lion ramp. argent, crowned or.* (Galloway). 7.—*An inescutcheon within a double tressure flory*, (Scotland, ancient). 8.—*Azure, three garbs or.* (Blundeville, Earl of Chester). 9.—*A wolf's head erased.* (Lupus, Earl of Chester). 10.—*Or, a cross flory gules.* (Frevill). 11.—*Vairé, a fess gules* (Marmion). 12.—*Argent, a sword in pale, point downwards, sa.* (Kilpeck). 13.—*Bendy of ten, azure and or.* (Montford). 14.—*Or, a saltier eng. sa.* (Bottecourt). 15.—*Gules,* 6 *bezants*, 3, 2, *and* 1. (Zouche.)

Crest.—*An Unicorn, passant argent.*

1 Peverell of Nottingham? Quarterly, *Gu. and vairé, or and az. a lion ramp. ar.*—Ed.

OLD ENGLISH PLATE, ECCLESIASTICAL, DECORATIVE AND DOMESTIC, ITS MAKERS AND MARKS, WITH IMPROVED TABLES OF THE DATE-LETTERS USED IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, Founded upon the Papers and Tables of C. Octavius Morgan, F.R.S., F.S.A., By WILFRED JOSEPH CRIPPS, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. London: Murray, 1878.

It is only of late years that any great interest has been felt in old Plate, or any systematic attempt made to establish the dates of its manufacture. The first to bring this very interesting subject under prominent notice, and in some measure to popularise it, was Mr. Octavius Morgan, who, in 1852, published in the Archæological Journal a series of Essays upon the subject, and in the following year he printed, in the same publication, a Table of the Annual Assay Office Letters. This table, however, according to Mr. Morgan's usual care, was limited to such marks as had been actually found upon pieces of Plate, or copied from the books of the Goldsmith's Company. The table was, moreover, confined to the marks of the London Assay Office. This was followed, a few years afterwards, by a treatise upon the same subject, by Mr. William Chaffers, who extended his tables to the Provincial Offices, and added the year-marks of certain years which, from not having seen examples, Mr. Morgan had omitted. Mr. Chaffers also made a further improvement by shewing the forms of the punches or shields by which the marks were made, a most useful addition as enabling the student the more readily to determine to what cycle of letters any particular mark belonged.

The work before us is, however, a great improvement upon all that have preceded it. Mr. Cripps gracefully and modestly requests his readers to attribute all that appears most valuable in the work to Mr. Morgan, and leave the rest to himself, and says that he will be more than satisfied with the share thus left to him. There is, however, throughout the work evidence of a vast amount of personal research, by whomsoever made, resulting in an accumulation of detail of very great value, especially in the extensive lists of makers' marks, now for the first time published.

It is probable that many of our readers may not have given their attention to this subject; for the advantage of such it may be desirable briefly to state the nature and object of the marks upon the plate which may come under their observation, though, to others, such statement may appear very trite and unnecessary.

Upon the earliest plate we find no more than three stamps; viz., 1, the leopard's head, crowned; 2, the maker's mark; and 3, the mark shewing the date of the year in which the plate was stamped. The leopard's head, crowned, can be traced to have been used as early as 1300, and was called the "King's Mark." It is really a lion's mask, crowned,

and was doubtless taken from the Royal Arms. This was properly the certificate that the metal was of the standard value. The maker's mark was instituted in 1363 by statute, which enacted that every master goldsmith should have a mark of his own by which his work might be known to the King's officers appointed to test it.

These latter marks, at first, were usually devices or symbols, subsequently monograms were adopted, and, afterwards, plain letters, the initials of the Christian and Surname of the maker. In 1697 a change was made by prescribing that the mark should consist of the two first letters of the maker's surname, but in 1737 the initials of the Christian and Surname were again resumed. The annual, or date, letter is the most interesting of all the marks, as it enables us to determine the year when any particular piece of plate was stamped. These marks consist of a series of alphabets of different characters, each alphabet extending over a cycle of twenty years. The letter was changed every year, on St. Dunstan's day, when the new Wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company assumed office; and when that alphabet became exhausted another was commenced.

Between 1540 and 1545 a fourth stamp was prescribed, viz : the Lion passant. The precise year has not been fixed, nor is it known with certainty for what object it was adopted. Mr. Cripps thinks that inasmuch as the standard of the silver coin was, in 1542, for the first time, lowered, and as the leopard's head, crowned, was, under the statute, evidence that the article stamped was not below fineness of sterling silver, this new stamp was intended to be placed on plate of the original standard. This conjecture would seem to be supported by the popular notion that the lion passant is now the test of the purity of the metal which is stamped with it. By the statute of 1696-7, by which the standard for silver plate was raised from 11oz. 2dwts., to 11oz. 10dwts., two new stamps were ordered to be used instead of the leopard's head crowned and the lion passant. These were the lion's head, in profile, erased, and the figure of Britannia ; but in 1720 the old standard was restored, and the original stamps with it. The higher standard, however, continued to be occasionally used, with, of course, its appropriate stamps, as it is at the present time, though rarely ; but when used it is distinguished by its proper marks. In 1784, a duty of 6d. per ounce was imposed upon silver plate, and another stamp of the Sovereign's head was adopted to signify that the duty had been paid. Thus, upon all silver plate subsequent to 1784, we find five stamps.

Mr. Cripps has given great attention to maker's marks, and has appended a very large table of them. Considering the number of gold and silversmiths, it is of necessity, at present, very imperfect, but he invites all lovers of ancient plate (and who are not?) to furnish him with impressions in sealing-wax of the marks upon any pieces which may be in their possession, or which may fall under their observation. He has also carefully considered the relative position of the Provincial Assay Offices, and the marks of local gold and silver-smiths.

It is needless to say that gold is marked in a like manner as silver, except that since 1824 it has been stamped with a crown instead of the lion passant, and with the figures 18 and 22, to shew its relative fineness, 18 or 22 carats, indicating that it contains 6 or 2 degrees of alloy, pure gold being 24 carats fine. Lower standards of gold are legalized, provided they do not contain less then one-third pure gold, but these inferior standards are not required to be stamped.

Mr. Cripps does not, however, confine himself to the manufacture and process of assaying and marking of plate—to which, perhaps, we have given more space than we should have done—but he traces the causes which led to the wholesale destruction of the ecclesiastical vessels with which our churches were enriched in pre-reformation times, upon which subject he has touched in his interesting essay on the Ancient Church Plate at Cirencester, printed at page 92 of this volume, but he describes also the usage of this country in respect to plate, and gives engravings of many beautiful examples both of decorative and domestic articles. We can strongly commend this charming book to all who are interested in the subject to which it relates.

Ancient Tile in Canynge's House, Bristol

In Memoriam.

We cannot close the first part of this volume without recording the great loss sustained by the Archæological world in the premature death of the Rev. James Gerald Joyce, F.S.A., the gifted author of *Remarks on the Fairford Windows* printed in this volume, which occurred at his rectory, after a short and acute illness, on 28th June last, whilst his Paper was passing through the press.

Mr. Joyce took a second class in Classics at Oxford, in 1846, and was, the same year, admitted to Holy Orders. After holding the vicarage of Burford, in this county, he was preferred, in 1855, on the presentation of the Duke of Wellington, to the Rectory of Stratfieldsaye.

His contributions to Archæological literature have been numerous, but it will be sufficient here to mention his Accounts of his Explorations of the Roman Remains at Silchester, which have, from time to time, appeared in the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries," the "Archæologia," and the "Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute." One of the most interesting and valuable of his miscellaneous papers is his scholarly and able memoir "On the Sarcophagus of Valerius Amandinus," which appeared, in 1870, in the last-mentioned publication, his deductions in which paper have been abundantly confirmed by subsequent discoveries in the Catacombs in Rome. But the work by which he will be best known is his monograph "On the Fairford Windows," published, in 1872, under the sanction of the "Art and Science Department of the Committee of Council on Education." This work he dedicated to his wife, the Hon. Ellen Joyce, whom he describes as the sharer in that and in every other of his labours, Fairford being the much-loved church of her native parish. It was the precursor of his paper in this volume, which no one can read without being struck by its eloquence, and by the great care, skill, and critical judgment displayed in its preparation. It may be looked upon as conclusive upon the subject of which it treats, and valued as the last production of the able writer's pen. Of Mr. Joyce's Ministerial works and labours it is not our province here to speak, but no one can read the paper just mentioned without observing that he was a large-hearted, learned, and catholic-minded divine.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society.

1877-8.

Part II.

Transactions at the Winter Meeting of the Society, held at Gloucester,

ON

Wednesday, January 24th, 1878.

The Annual Winter Meeting of the Society was held at Gloucester, on Thursday, 24th January, 1878. After a Meeting of the Council at the Tolsey in the afternoon, the members of the Society dined together at the Bell Hotel, Sir W. V. Guise, the Vice-President of the Council, presiding. There was a fair attendance of members present. Subsequently, a meeting of the members and their friends was held at the Rooms of the Science and Art Department. Sir William Guise again presided, and the following papers were read in the Lecture Room, at which there was a good attendance :—

1.—On Haresfield Beacon and its Entrenchments.

By J. D. T. Niblett, Esq., F.S.A.

2.—On certain Tombs in Tewkesbury Abbey.

By the Rev. W. S. Symonds.

3.—On some Records of Matson.

By the Rev. William Bazeley, Vicar.

All of which will be found printed in this Volume.

The President warmly commended this last paper, remarking that it dealt with just the subject which the Society should take up, while it confirmed the truth of what he had often stated, that many clergymen were competent to communicate valuable information respecting the ancient buildings and local events of the past in their own parishes.

With regard to iron being found on Robin's Wood Hill, the late Canon Lysons had remarked on the probability of this at a meeting of the Cotswold Club. We knew that iron had been dug in the middle lias in Gloucestershire, where in some places it was richly ferruginous; but although we had the middle lias at Robin's Wood Hill no one had ever heard of attempts being made to utilize any deposit of iron which might be there. Mr. Lysons promised to bring the original deed in which the fact was said to be recorded, but it turned out that the monks had not taken tithes of iron (ferri), as was supposed, but tithes of hay (feni).

Mr. F. W. WALLER then delivered a very interesting address "*On the Old Houses of Gloucester*," which was illustrated by a series of dissolving views with great effect by Mr. RIDDIFORD.

Mr. F. W. WALLER said the few particulars he had succeeded in collecting together were mainly from local historians and inquiries of residents of Gloucester and neighbourhood. His object had been to obtain reliable representations of some of the interesting parts of Old Gloucester, so far as they were at present preserved, with, if possible, something of their history. He had searched for these in local libraries and the British Museum without success, and had, therefore, to trust to local tradition. Changes in our streets were being so rapidly made, and the old features destroyed, that it was evident that in a few years most of Old Gloucester, as we now know it, will have disappeared. An instance of this was afforded by a photograph which he exhibited of a measured drawing he had made two years previously of a very interesting part of the Blackfriars, since entirely destroyed to make room for a soda-water manufactory. Such researches as these took a long time, and needed access to many old private deeds, and he had only as yet had opportunity of going very superficially into the matter, getting together a small number of illustrations, which did not represent a quarter of the interesting remains in Gloucester. The collection he had made (which he proposed should form part of the Society's museum) might induce others to add to the stock by their knowledge. In regard to Llanthony Priory, Mr. WALLER said the unfinished water-colour sketches of the original monastery of Llanthony in Monmouthshire, which he exhibited, were made by his father six or seven years ago. The history of this Priory, and its offshoot at Gloucester, were so well known that it hardly needed recapitulation—how the Priory in the lonely vale in Monmouthshire was said to have been founded by Edward de Laci, and that after the death of Henry I. the place either became untenable, owing to the disturbed state of the country, or else the monks preferred to move to a less rigorous climate; how they moved to Hereford for a time, under the protection of the then Bishop, and how, eventually, a grant of land called Hyde, near Gloucester, was made to them by Milo de Laci, Earl of Hereford, upon which land they founded the Priory, of which but small remains are left. He shewed a photograph of the gateway, one of the chief features still existing. Adverting to the Priory of Blackfriars, he said it was stated by Atkyns to have been built by King Athelstan; it lay near the Castle gate, and was afterwards endowed by Henry III. and Stephen de Herneshull in 1239. At the dissolution the site was granted to Sir T. Bell. Several views

of portions of the remains were exhibited. The Priory of Greyfriars, or Friars Minors, which was not far from the South Gate, was founded by Lord Berkeley; at the dissolution the site was granted to Sir J. Jennings, who had before obtained the grant of the site of St. Oswald's Monastery. The church of St. Oswald was demolished in the great rebellion, 1645. As regards the New Inn he said the assassination of Edward II. at Berkeley Castle, his burial at Gloucester, and the excitement thereon in religious bodies, all combined to attract large numbers of pilgrims to his shrine. To accommodate these, a large hostelry was built similar to those at Glastonbury, St. Albans, Malmesbury, and other places. The New Inn was spacious, and constructed of ponderous materials, the buildings surrounded two square courts, and so far as could be seen were provided with stairs leading to two tiers of galleries, giving access to numerous large and small rooms. Rudge says that in the time of Abbot Seabrooke, who presided over the Monastery from 1450 to 1457, the New Inn in Northgate Street was built by John Twining, a monk, who caused an underground passage to be made from it to the Abbey; this, however, was very improbable, and most likely it was nothing but a conduit. A lease from the Dean and Chapter only states it to be "a certain ancient messuage, with appurtenances situate, &c., and known by the name of the New Inn." It was commonly said to be built of chestnut, and has large beams, the spaces being filled with brick nogging or plaster. The courtyard is like those adopted for Canterbury pilgrims, or the carriers, in Shakespere's *Henry IV.* A general view of the courtyard, as it at present exists, was shewn, and one from Britton's "Picturesque Cities," and a view of the beautiful angle post and bracket at the corner of New Inn Lane, as lately laid bare during some alterations, was also exhibited. *Mr. Clarke's House.*—This was the town house of the Yate family of Arlingham, but it had been used as a shop for the last 140 years. MR. H. Y. J. TAYLOR stated that his mother remembered the house with a balcony over the street, and with painted glass windows. A general view from the street was shewn; also a view of the mantel-piece in the front room first floor, the shield in the centre, 1st and 4th, Yate; 2nd, Berkeley; 3rd, Box. Also Berkeley and Box on single shields right and left, and the date 1650. A view of the mantel-piece in the room over was also shewn. The old house, 154, Westgate street, now used as sale-rooms by Messrs. Evans, was next referred to. In the deed of conveyance to the late George Meadows, the house was thus described:—"Formerly the estate and inheritance of Richard Webb, Esq., one of the aldermen of the city of Gloucester." Another extract runs as follows:—"Maverdine Lane, leading from Westgate Street to the back part of the said capital tenement." The house was believed to be the head-quarters of General Massey and his principal officers during the siege of Gloucester in 1643. It was said to have been the town house of the Clifford family of Frampton, and it was also stated that Sir William Guise's family held the house for a period, and that it had been held also by the Grocers' Guild. There is an old panelled room on the second floor in the front, and a passage leading thereto, also panelled, and in the room is an interesting chimney-piece, bearing coats of arms and an inscription, of which the following particulars

have been kindly given by Mr. J. D. T. Niblett:—On the dexter shield, on a bend, 3 lions passant guardant. In the centre arms:—a chevron between 9 cloves, 6 and 3. Supporters, 2 griffins; for the Grocers Company. De Clare, Earls of Gloucester, but with 5 chevrons instead of 3 (a blunder of the carver) impaling the arms of the City of Gloucester, as granted in the reign of Henry VIII. Under the centre, on a sort of pedestal,

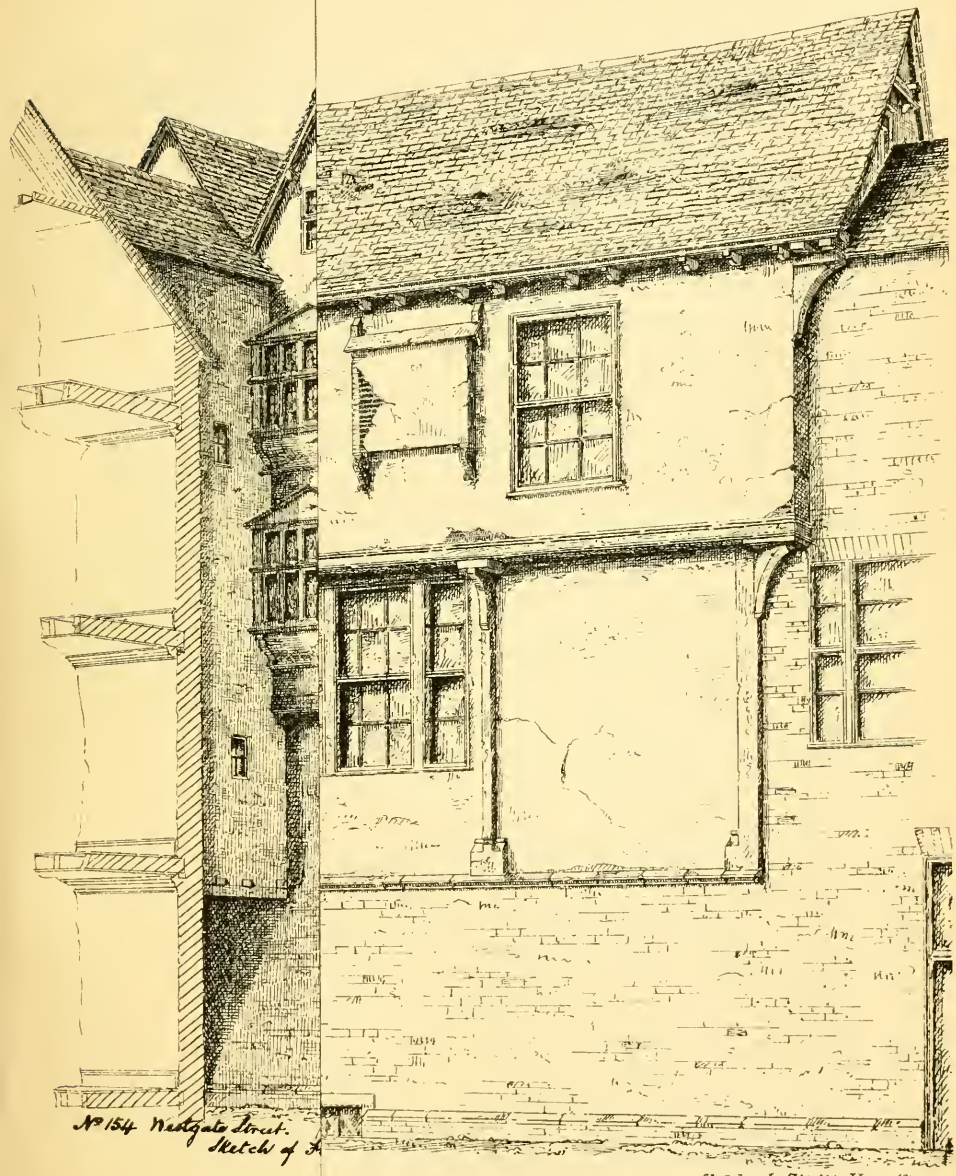
ANNO DOM
INI 1622 RIC
HARDVS HANCVTT.

The S in Richardus has been blundered by the wood carver.

In Burke's Armory occurs a family of the name of Hancott. Arms:—Erm. on a bend gu., 3 mullets or.

The present front of the house was put up by Mr. Bishop, grocer. Mr. W. V. Ellis could remember timber gables in the front; and Mr. Allen says the old angle post with carving is hidden by the junction of Mr. Nest's shop, and that the front somewhat resembled Jemmy Wood's house. The house was for many years used as the judges' lodgings. A view of the side front was shewn from a pen and ink sketch made by Mr. Waller. The passage where this front exists is so narrow (not five feet wide) that it is impossible to get any view of the building, therefore he made a measured drawing with the aid of ladders, &c., and a perspective sketch from that He ventured to think that no one could have seen the front from this point of view for many generations. (See Plate III.) *House by St. Nicholas Church* (Mr. Johnston's)—This was supposed to have belonged to Mr. Pate, founder of Cheltenham Grammar Schools—Queen Elizabeth is said to have stayed here while travelling through the country. It was the town house of the Wyse family. The present front was erected by Daniel Wylie, brother-in-law of Jemmy Wood. A view of the chimney-piece in the principal sitting-room, which it was difficult to take for want of light, was shewn. *Houses Opposite St. Nicholas Church.*—One of these was said to be where Hooper spent his last night before being burnt in St. Mary's Square. No history could be obtained of these houses, the deeds of the present owners not going back far enough. There was a panelled room at the back. A view was shewn from the street. An old house lower down Westgate street was also shewn, but no history of it could be obtained. The house occupied by Mr. Wyncoll was said to have been the town house of the Lysons family. A view was shewn of a room facing St. John's Lane, taken from a drawing made by Mr. Waller, some time since. A view from Pitt Street of a house in Hare Lane was also shewn for its picturesque woodwork. In conclusion, Mr. Waller again called attention to the extreme difficulty of obtaining any reliable information in regard to old houses in Gloucester. His remarks were thrown out as much to provoke criticism and assist in arriving at something definite respecting them as for any other purpose.

The usual vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Waller for his lecture.



No 154 Westgate Street.
Sketch of A

Sketched by F.W. Waller. 1877.

have been kindly given by Mr. J. D. T. Niblett:—On the dexter shield, on a bend, 3 lions passant guardant. In the centre arms:—a chevron between 9 cloves, 6 and 3. Supporters, 2 griffins; for the Grocers Company. De Clare, Earls of Gloucester, but with 5 chevrons instead of 3 (a blunder of the carver) impaling the arms of the City of Gloucester, as granted in the reign of Henry VIII. Under the centre, on a sort of pedestal,

ANNO DOM
INI 1622 RIC
HARDVS HANCVTT.

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No 154 Westgate Street. (Glencoe)
Sketch of Front facing passage (5 feet wide) originally known as Mamdone Lane.

Sketched by F. W. Waller. 1877.

The photographs shewn were well executed by Mr. Soley.

Sir John Maclean suggested the desirability of the representations of antiquities shewn by Mr. Waller being preserved in some more permanent form than photography, and Mr. Waller kindly promised to make finished drawings as opportunities offered.

Sir John Maclean communicated a paper on the "Ancient Cinder Heaps in the Forest of Dean and neighbourhood." This paper was written by Mr. George Wyrall, of Bicknor Court, in the year 1780, for Dr. Nash, when he was engaged in preparing for publication his History of Worcestershire, but, Sir John added, he did not think Dr. Nash had used it; the subject, he believed, is not mentioned in Dr. Nash's History. This paper is alluded to in the account of English Bicknor, in the first volume of the Transactions of this Society, pp. 92, 93. The original MS. in Mr. Wyrall's handwriting is in the possession of Rev. Edward Machen, of Eastbach Court, through whose obliging kindness the transcript is furnished for the Society. Time would not admit of the paper being read. Sir John gave a brief abstract of the contents, and said he considered it well worth being printed in the Transactions of the Society, an opinion in which the Chairman, who had seen the paper, concurred. It is accordingly printed in this volume.

Mr. J. D. T. Niblett read a paper entitled "Arms of the City of Gloucester, in which he described the arms used by the city at various early dates and the more modern grants. The paper will be printed in this volume. Mr. Niblett also described, in detail, a series of shields of arms on the frieze of the shrine in Boteler's Chapel, in the Cathedral, into which the commemorative tomb of Robert, Duke of Normandy was moved. Originally, he said, there were forty-nine shields, of which twelve are now missing, but the lower row is still perfect. He next described ten shields on an old oak chest in the same chapel, on which the effigy of the said Duke lies. These are intended for the Nine Worthies of the world, which are usually given in the following order, but this order, he said, had not been attended to by the carver of the chest. They should have been :—Jews—1, Joshua; 2, David; 3, Judas Maccabeus.—Gentiles—1, Hector of Troy; 2, Alexander the Great; 3, Julius Cæsar. – Christians—1, Arthur, King of Britain; 2, Charlemagne of Germany; 3, Godfrey of Boulogne.

Refreshments were provided in the Museum.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON SOME OF THE TOMBS IN TEWKESBURY ABBEY.

By the REV. W. S. SYMONDS, F.G.S.
Rector of Pendock.

Read at Gloucester, 24th January, 1878.

IN August, 1876, I had the honour of reading some Notes on the Battle Field of Tewkesbury before the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, and on that occasion I alluded to the remarkable historical associations which surround the ancient Abbey, and attach to some of the tombs which contain the mouldering relics of many a member of a noble and princely house, famous in song and history. It may not, therefore, be uninteresting on an occasion like the present, to call attention, for the sake of those who may visit the venerable Abbey, to the memorials of the illustrious dead within its walls, as furnished by the monuments, or preserved in history and tradition.

There is some doubt as to the derivation of the name of Tewkesbury. William of Malmesbury—who wrote as long ago as the time of King Stephen—derives the name from the Greek word, *Theotocos*, because the first monastery that was built there was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The Rev. J. H. Blunt, in his excellent account of "Tewkesbury Abbey and its Associations," quotes an old Register or Chronicle of Tewkesbury of about the date 1540-50, which attributes the first Christian Church at Tewkesbury to a missionary monk, named Theoc, who lived in the latter part of the seventh century. Rudder, who wrote about a century ago (1779), describes Tewkesbury as "situated in a fine rich vale near the confines of Worcestershire, and watered by four rivers like the Garden of Eden," and says that it was the prevailing

opinion that Tewkesbury derived its name from one Theocus, "an ancient hermit who dwelt here about the year 700, and had a chapel on the banks of the Severn." Thus Rudder's account and that of the "Chronicle of Tewkesbury" agree sufficiently; and we may believe that an Anglo-Saxon church was erected here some time early in the eighth century on the site on which now stands Tewkesbury Abbey.

SAXON GRAVES.

There is a bloody history belonging to a Saxon grave at Tewkesbury, the authority for which is Bishop Asser in his Life of King Alfred. This Saxon tomb rested over the remains of Beorhtric, King of the West Saxons, who married Eadburgha, the daughter of "Offa, The Terrible," King of Mercia. When Charlemagne was Emperor of the West, Offa corresponded with him on the commercial interests of France and England. He was singularly cruel to the Welsh; and there still exists in some parts of Herefordshire and Wales, remains of "Offa's Dyke," a boundary for centuries between the English and the Welsh, and about which a law was afterwards made between Griffith, King of Wales, and Harold:—"That every Welshman crossing with arms or weapons was liable to lose his right hand."[1] King Offa built a palace at "Tamworth Town," which was the wonder of the age. The venerable Abbey Church of St. Albans stands on the site of a church built by him. Sutton Walls, near Hereford, was once the site of a palace of King Offa, and it was here that his Queen caused Æthelbert, King of East Angles, to be murdered, when he was engaged in the hazardous pursuit of courting her daughter. In expiation of this murder by his Queen, a church was erected by Offa at Hereford, to which the body of Æthelbert was removed. Æthelbert was afterwards considered a martyr and a saint, miracles were performed at his tomb, and in his honour a church of stone, "lapidea structura," was built, where before was a church of wood. But the daughter of Offa and Quendrida was as terrible as her father. The followers of her husband

[1] Comprehensive Hist. of England, 1862. I. 126.

whom she did not like, died suddenly—and at last her husband drank of a poisoned cup and died in the year A.D. 800. King Beorhtric was buried "in the Chapel of St. Faith, in his Priory of Tewkesbury," by Hugo, a Mercian Earl, whose tomb was standing in the time of Henry VIII., as it was seen by Leland, on the north side of the nave of the Abbey. There is a tradition that Eadburgha, after her expulsion from England, was seen begging for bread in the streets of Pavia, in Italy.

I shall not allude farther to that period of England's history—when the land (to use the words of the chronicler, Fabian) "Was vexed with three manners of sorrows: with wars of the Danes, pestilence of men, and murrain of beasts"—than to invite you to remember that it was near Gloucester that the beautiful wife of Eadwy (Elgiva) was seized, on her escape from Ireland, and was foully murdered A.D. 957, and that nearly fifty years later, in the reign of King Ethelred, the sudden massacre of the Danes was perpetrated (1002), which, in 1016, brought a Danish fleet up the Severn; when the Danish warriors burnt Deerhurst Church, two miles below Tewkesbury, and, we may well believe, committed every excess that a thirst for vengeance and rapine could suggest, both at Gloucester and Tewkesbury. Tradition says that Edmund Ironside and Canute the Dane met on the Isle of Olney, close to Gloucester; while my friend, Mr. Butterworth, maintains that they agreed to divide England between them on an "ait," opposite the Church of Deerhurst.[1]

We know that several of the Saxon Kings held their courts at Gloucester, and it is said that, after his arrangement with Canute, Edmund Ironside came to Gloucester. Here, also, Edward the Confessor frequently resided and kept his court. From Gloucester, Harold, afterwards the last of our Saxon Kings, marched against

[1] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says "The Kings came together at Olanege near Deorhyrste" (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 425). Florence of Worcester is more explicit, he says:—"Quorum suggestionibus, licit invitus, ad postremum cum consentiret, recurrentibus internuntiis, et obsidibus ad invicem datis, ambo reges, ad locum qui Deorhyrst nominatur in unum convenerunt;" and again: "Dein uterque rex in insulam quæ Olanege appellatur, et est in ipsius fluminis (Severn) medio sita, trabariis advehetur."—Ibid., 593. ED.

the turbulent Welsh, who had burnt Hereford, and then the law was passed respecting the passing of Offa's dyke.

This takes us to the time of the Norman Conquest, when we learn that William the Conqueror generally passed his Christmas in great splendour at Gloucester, attended by his principal nobility and ecclesiastics. This custom was also continued by William Rufus, and it was, probably, at a court held here that the lordship and honour of Gloucester was granted to Robert Fitz-Hamon on the death of Matilda, wife of the Conquerer, A.D. 1083, and hence the foundation of the Norman part of Tewkesbury Abbey.

NORMAN TOMBS. THE FOUNDER'S TOMB.

Robert Fitz-Hamon was a noble Norman who married a nicce of William the Conqueror. In 1091, he led an army, commanded by himself and twelve other knights, for the purpose of assisting one Welsh chieftain against another. The Norman knights soon occupied a large portion of South Wales for themselves, and Fitz-Hamon apportioned the conquered country among his knights companions. The names of the knights who accompanied him, with the lands assigned to each, are stated in an ancient MS. still in the British Museum. It is entitled "The Winning of the Lordship of Glamorgan, out of the Welshmen's hands."[1] In this list appears the name of Sir Paine Turberville, whose name and descendants continue at Ewenny, in that neighbourhood, to this day. He received the lordship of Coyty. Powell's Cambria states that Robert Fitz-Hamon kept for himself "the castells of Cardyff and Kenfygg, with the three market towns of Cardyff, Kenfygg, and Cowbridge," and that "he dwelt most himself in the said castell or town of Cardyff." There is a sad episode about this Castell of Cardyff. It was to Cardyff Castle—be it remembered—that Robert of Normandy, eldest son of the Conqueror, was committed a prisoner for life by his own brother, Henry I., and it was here that the noble soldier and crusader had his eyes seared and destroyed by a basin of red-hot copper. As this happened A.D. 1106, I fear that Robert Fitz-Hamon must have been the means of executing this detestable order.

[1] Harl. MS. 6108.

As regards Tewkesbury Abbey, the noble Norman nave owes its foundation to Fitz-Hamon, and the Norman arches stand now as they did in the days of the Norman knights. Mr. Blunt gives a copy of a curious engraving of this Norman Earl and his Countess, Sybil, from the "Chronicle of Tewkesbury." He also gives an eloquent description of the consecration of the Abbey A.D. 1123, in the days of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, thirteen years after Fitz-Hamon had been laid in the grave; and how the Bishop and a vast procession of "abbesses" and "nuns in white whimples," the monastic clergy, canons, arch-deacons, and bishops invited the "King of Glory" to come in. Alas, those who read the Welsh Chronicles of those times, and know something of the detestable cruelties enacted by the Norman knights, will think of the means by which the Normans acquired the wealth wherewith to build their churches. I fear that Robert Fitz-Hamon, like Bernard Newmarch, at Brecon, founded Tewkesbury Abbey, for the good of his soul, after a lifetime of savage violence, murder, and plunder. Still, such were the customs and manners of the times in which he lived, and, without doubt, "a gallant knight was he." His body was originally buried in the Chapter House, but was removed to the right hand of the high altar in the choir, and what was then left of the skeleton was placed underneath what is now called the Founder's Chapel. The tombs of three of his contemporaries are worth mentioning, men he must have known and associated with.

William Rufus, the Red King, gave the lordship of Gloucester to Fitz-Hamon. After his untimely death in the New Forest, he was buried in Winchester Cathedral, and over his remains was erected a coped tomb of grey marble. There is a tradition that King Stephen's brother, the once great and powerful prelate, Henry de Blois, took up the hurriedly-buried body of the Red King and shrouded it in a mantle of Cloth of Gold. Also another tradition said that his bones were placed in the chest which contains those of Canute, and his wife, Emma of Normandy. However, when in 1858 the coped tomb was removed and opened, underneath was found an entire skeleton, and with that skeleton, the Verger

assured me, were found "remains of golden threads" and "a rusty arrow head." In the choir of Gloucester Cathedral, too, is a figure carved in Irish oak of Robert, Duke of Normandy, the victim of a brother's cruelty at Cardiff Castle. About the beginning of this century the body of Sir Payne Turberville and that of his wife were discovered in the chancel of Coity Church, From the inscription we learn that this Norman knight, the contemporary of Fitz-Hamon, "had to remain in purgatory forty days".[1]

ROBERT FITZ-ROY, EARL OF GLOUCESTER.

Fitz-Hamon had no son by his wife, Sybil, but his eldest daughter, Mabel, married a natural son of Henry I., who was created first "Erle of Gloucester." This was that celebrated Earl of Gloucester who so powerfully contested the claims of his half-sister, Matilda, to the throne of England, against King Stephen. It was he who took Stephen prisoner in 1141, when he was besieging Lincoln. It was he who persuaded the proud Bishop of Winchester, to whom we have just alluded, to desert his own brother, Stephen, and acknowledge the pretentions of Matilda; and who, later on, when another shuffle took place, was handed over to Maud, Stephen's queen, who imprisoned him in the castle of Rochester. He was a mighty agent through all those civil wars at a time when all England "wore a time of utter desolation." He was the guardian of Prince Henry, afterwards Henry II., for three years in the Castle of Bristol, and at Bristol he was buried, A.D. 1147. He had much to do with the building—and was present at the consecration—of Tewkesbury Abbey, though he was not buried there.

THE GRAVES OF THE DE CLARES.

The Earls of Gloucester and Lords of Tewkesbury who succeeded Robert Fitz-Roy were none of them buried at Tewkesbury until the times of the illustrious family of De Clare, when, the line of male succession failing, the earldom descended by the female side. The name of De Clare is associated in our memories with that of the celebrated Richard de Clare, the Strongbow of history, the conqueror of Ireland for Henry II. Among the sepulchral

[1] Ree's South Wales, Beauties of England and Wales., p. 696.

effigies amidst the ruins of Tintern, on the banks of the silver Wye, is still shown a sadly disfigured monumental effigy of a knight in a coat of mail, said to be commemorative of Richard Strongbow. But Strongbow was buried in Gloucester Cathedral. The first Tewkesbury De Clare was the son of that Richard de Clare whose name appears at the head of the signatures to Magna Charta. The days of the second Henry had passed away, and all the sad and humiliating history of Thomas à Becket, rebellious children, and a dying broken-hearted king. Rosamond Clifford had been laid in the tomb in the "little nunnery of Godestow, in the rich meadows of Evenlod, near unto Oxford;" the lion-hearted Richard had been cut off in the full strength and pride of manhood, and laid at the feet of his father in the Abbey of Fontevrault. John Lackland had murdered his nephew at Rouen, and disgraced the English throne by truckling to pompous ecclesiastical pretentions, and by endeavouring to extinguish the liberties of his own subjects, when the name of De Clare, at the head of the Great Charter—the foundation of the liberty of free England—warms our hearts and makes our pulses beat with a sense of freedom after perusing the history of the degradation of this country and its Bishops, when submitting to the interdict of Pope Innocent III. and the tyranny of King John. We learn, too, that the name of the first Tewkesbury de Clare, Gilbert, appears not far below that of his father on the Great Charter. The body of this lord of Tewkesbury was buried in the year 1230 before the high altar in the choir of Tewkesbury Abbey, and during the recent repairs the stone coffin in which he was laid, and a portion of the skeleton were found where he was buried.

THE "RED EARL."

The "Red Earl" was a man of great note in his day, and seems to have been of a quarrelsome and changeable disposition. He became the great friend of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, in his youth, and was knighted by him at Lewes (1264), where King Henry III. and Prince Edward were both taken prisoners by the confederate Barons. De Clare, however, soon

changed sides, and we find him, with Roger Mortimer, assisting Prince Edward to escape from the castle at Hereford when the Prince fled for life and liberty from Widemarsh at the waving of Mortimer's banner on the summit of Dinmore Hill. De Clare fought against his old friend at the battle of Evesham, where "160 knights and great numbers of gentlemen, and about 4000 common men" of De Montfort's and the Barons' party were left dead upon the field. He was not faithful to his wife, Alice of Angouleme, for after they had been married more than twenty years he divorced her (1285) and married the Princess Joan d'Acre, daughter of Edward I. (1289.) It was now that he received from King Edward the gift of the ancient Chase of Malvern, and soon after had a dispute with the Bishop of Hereford respecting the boundary. "The Red Earl's Dyke" may be traced to this day along the crest of the Malverns for several miles, and is the relic of a great trench which he had dug to mark the extent of his right of chase in the direction of Ledbury and Hereford. He died in 1295 at Monmouth and was buried in Tewkesbury Abbey at the time his ambitious father-in-law, Edward I., by his ignominious treatment of the Scotch and their king, was arousing the patriotism of Wallace, and afterwards of Robert Bruce, which was to end on the Borders, at Burgh-upon-the-sands, in the death of himself, and at Bannockburn in the extinction of the family of De Clare.

THE LAST OF THE DE CLARES.

The last of the De Clares was the son of the "Red Earl" and the Princess Joan. He was born at Tewkesbury (1291). He was only three and twenty when he was slain at the battle of Bannockburn. Scott alludes to him in the "Lord of the Isles" as a principal leader in the great army of England. Indeed, the opening attack of Bannockburn rings to the words—

> "Bid Gloster's Earl the fight begin."
>
> "Earl Gilbert waved his truncheon high,
> Just as the Northern ranks arose,
> Signal for England's archery
> To halt and bend their bows."—*Canto vi., St. xxii.*

And later on we read of that fearful melée where—

"There Gloster plied the bloody sword;
And Berkley, Grey, and Hereford,
Unflinching foot against foot was set,
Unceasing blow by blow was met.
The groans of those who fell
Were drown'd amid the shriller clang
That from the blades and harness rang,
And in the battle-yell."—*St. xxvi*

It was in such a scene as this the last of the De Clares died, as is recorded, "fighting valiantly." The Scots would have saved him, but as he wore no armorial bearings he was killed in the throng. His body was brought to Tewkesbury Abbey, and his grave, and that of Maud de Burgh, his widow, were uncovered during the recent restoration of the choir. I have to thank my friend, Mr. Allard, of Tewkesbury, for noting the particulars. The skeleton was that of a powerful man; and the bodies lay in the space between the Beauchamp Chapel and the kneeling figure of Baron Despencer.

TOMBS OF THE DESPENCERS.

These graves take us to those troublous times of Edward II. and his favourites. On Blacklow Hill, near Warwick, is a cross which commemorates the execution, by "barons as lawless as himself," of

"Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall."
The minion of a pitiful king;
In life and death
A memorable instance of misrule."

Somewhere in Tewkesbury Abbey lie the mutilated remains of Edward's second favourite, Hugh Despencer, Earl of Gloucester. The "Chronicle of Tewkesbury" records that they were gathered somehow from the places where they were distributed, and buried in the Abbey; while Leland says that they were deposited near the lavatory. This history reminds us of those episodes when the "gentle Mortimer" and the "She-Wolf of France" butchered the Despencers, father and son, the one at Bristol and the other at Hereford, with revolting barbarity. The trunk of the son was brought to Tewkesbury; Hugh Despencer, the elder, was devoured by dogs. This happened in 1326. On a dark night

towards the end of September, 1327, the shrieks of a tortured king rang through the walls of Berkeley Castle, and the next day some of the citizens of Gloucester and Bristol went to see the body of Edward of Caernarvon. His body and monument lie in the Cathedral of Gloucester, and Dr. Chevers, who has paid much attention to such subjects, assures me that he is convinced the face of the effigy of Edward II., is carved from a cast taken after death.

HUGH, BARON DESPENCER, & EDWARD, BARON DESPENCER.

The magnificent monument in the chancel on the north side is that of the son of Hugh Despencer, the younger, who was hung, drawn, and quartered at Hereford. Hugh, Baron Despencer, lies by the side of his wife, Eleanor de Clare. She married, after his death, Guy de Brian, Lord of Welwyn; but, dying in 1359, she was buried by the side of her first husband, Despencer.

For the account of the later Despencers I refer my readers to Mr. Blunt's "Tewkesbury Abbey and its Associations." The kneeling figure in armour on the roof of Trinity Chapel on the north side of the Chancel, is that of Edmund Despencer, who died at Cardiff Castle, 1375. He was a man of mark and a Knight of the Garter. The last of the Despencers of the male line died A.D. 1414, and his lands, &c., went to his sister, Isabel, Countess of Warwick, the foundress of the Beauchamp chantry. It appears, however, that some relics of this once powerful family still linger among our aristocracy. Leland speaks of a "faire maner place of timber and stone" in a "Theokesbyri parke, where the lord Edward Spenser lay and late my lady Mary," and this is evidently the Tewkesbury Park now the residence of Mr. Sergeaunt, and not the Holme where the "erles of Gloucester's house" was. From this Lord Edward Spenser are descended the Countess of Enniskillen and Lady Falmouth.[1]

MONUMENT OF GUY DE BRIAN.

North of the splendid double monument of Lord and Lady

[1] The Viscountess Falmouth and Baroness Le Spencer still holds the Castle and Manor of Mereworth, Co. Kent, anciently held by her ancestors, the Despencer's, with Tunbridge Castle of the Honour of Gloucester.

Despenser is the Margaret Chapel, and underneath a stone screen is the monument of Guy de Brian, who does not appear, however, to have been buried there. His history takes us to other scenes than the miserable civil wars of the days of Edward II., and we hear the trumpets sounding on the fields of Crecy and Poictiers (1346 and 1356). Guy de Brian was standard-bearer to Edward III., and heard the shout "Advance Banners, in the name of God and St. George," which led the banner of St. George against the Oriflamme of France. There is, or was, within the last few years, an old windmill on the field of Crecy, from which tradition says King Edward watched the battle and the terrific charges of the Black Prince with the chivalry of England.

We may imagine the anxiety from time to time with which he watched his Standard. It is recorded, too, that Guy de Brian was a Knight of the Garter, to which he was elected in 1369, and was thus introduced into that roll of Princes, gallant soldiers, and statesmen who have since been entitled to use the proud motto "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*," and who were, on the first grand meeting of the Knights of the Garter at Windsor, "clothed in gowns of russet, powdered with garters blue, wearing the like garters also on their right legs, and mantles of blue with scutcheons of St. George;" and the first knight of which was Edward the Black Prince, the hero of Crecy, afterwards the victor of Poictiers.

THE GRAVES OF THE BEAUCHAMPS.

It had become the practice for great people to build Chantry Chapels where chantry priests could offer up daily masses for the welfare of the King, and for souls of their deceased relations or ancestors, and for all Christian souls: and thus the celebrated, so called, Warwick Chapel, in Tewkesbury Abbey, was erected by Isabel Despencer in 1422, to the memory of her first husband, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Abergavenny and Worcester.

Now this chapel should certainly be called the Beauchamp Chapel, for it is constantly being merged in Warwick histories and mistaken for a monument either of the family of Isabella's

second husband or of that of the "King Maker." And yet this beautiful chapel was erected by his disconsolate widow to Richard Beauchamp, a right good knight and true, who fought at Agincourt, and for his gallantry was created Earl of Worcester. He was killed at the siege of Meaux, and was buried at Tewkesbury in 1421.

When Isabel had beheld the Beauchamp Chapel finished and dedicated, she married, secondly, a cousin of her first husband, another Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G., and thus she became Countess of Warwick. The early days of this noble Earl and gallant Knight take us to the date 1400, and the long struggles between Owen Glendower and Henry IV., when, in one of the earlier engagements, the Earl of Warwick took, in open battle, the standard of Owen Glendower. He was present, also, at the battle of Shrewsbury, and afterwards fought at Agincourt and other French wars of Henry V., which King visited him at Warwick Castle. It was this Earl of Warwick who founded a chantry chapel at Guy's Cliff, and made John Rous, the antiquary, his chantry priest. On the death of Henry V, (1422) he, with Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, was entrusted with the care of the person and education of Henry VI. In 1437 he was made Regent of France, and died after a residence of two years at Rouen Castle. His body was laid in the celebrated Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick, underneath the well known and magnificent tomb. Isabel, his wife, Countess of Warwick, returned from France with his dead body, accompanied by her son Henry. She died in the same year (1435), and was buried in Tewkesbury Abbey, close to the monument erected to her first husband in the Beauchamp Chapel, and over her body was placed a magnificent tomb, but no remains of this monument are left. In 1875 her grave was found covered with a stone, on the under side of which was "Mercy, Lord Jesu." The body had been embalmed and was wrapped in a linen shroud: her auburn hair still adhered to the skull, and a lock of it may be seen in a brooch at Tewkesbury. Isabel, Countess of Warwick, died in 1435, but "the great commanding Warwick," "the setter up and plucker down of Kings," "the greatest and the last of

the old Norman chivalry, kinglier in pride, in state, in possessions, and in renown than the king himself," did not become Earl of Warwick until 1449, nor until after the death of the Duke of Warwick (son of Richard Beauchamp) and his young daughter Anne. The King-maker then succeeded in right of his wife.

The Duke of Warwick and "King of the Isle of Wight," as he was created by Henry VI., was also buried in Tewkesbury Abbey.

GRAVES OF THE BATTLE OF TEWKESBURY.

The graves of Tewkesbury Battle Field remind us of the "Wars of the Roses," which lasted for nearly thirty years, reckoning from the battle of St. Albans to that of Bosworth Field, and in which wars almost the whole of the ancient nobility of England were annihilated. Edward IV. had quarrelled with the "King-maker," and been obliged to fly to Holland; while his own brother, the Duke of Clarence, had married Isabella, one of Warwick's daughters, and the Prince of Wales, young Edward, married the other, Anne of Warwick. Then came the strange shuffle when the "King-maker" released Henry VI. from the Tower, and proclaimed him King again (1470); Edward's return from the continent, and the battle of Barnet (1471), which ended in the defeat and death of Warwick. A few days later was fought the "decisive and dreadful battle of Tewkesbury" (4th May, 1471), and it is interesting to trace the principal scenes of action from the "luckless place" Queen Margaret chose, to the "Bloody Meadow"; and the hill where Somerset retreated, called Lord Wenlock "traitor," and "with his axe stroke the brains out of his head." Local memorials and tradition help us somewhat, but the resting places of many of the illustrious dead are very obscure.

I think the Rev. E. Dowdeswell has given us good grounds for believing that Queen Margaret sheltered for a night or two in the "Queen's Room," at Paine's House, near Bushley Church (Bushley Almanack, 1877); while the rude engravings mentioned by Mr. Blunt as being still in the Public Library of Ghent, and pictureing the battle field and the execution of the Barons, support the old traditions of Tewkesbury, viz.: that Prince Edward was stabbed

to death in a house near Tewkesbury Cross, which was occupied by King Edward, and from which he witnessed the beheading of Somerset and the other prisoners. Several of the fugitives were killed in the churchyard, and some in the Abbey itself: but Edward IV. yielded to the entreaties of Abbot Stensham bearing the mass, and stopped the slaughter in the church, where those that were spared took refuge from the Saturday night until the Monday, when they were dragged forth to a court-martial, presided over by the Duke of Gloucester, and afterwards beheaded.

The corpse of Edward, Prince of Wales, is said to have been buried in the choir, underneath a brass, which has been removed for a time; but I cannot learn that any remains of a skeleton were found underneath this brass, and one old writer—I think, Speed—says he was buried with the common men. We can hardly believe, however, that Edward IV. would have allowed this. The burial places of Somerset and Wenlock are both assigned by tradition, but both are equally doubtful. The armour of the knight above the supposed tomb of Wenlock belongs, Sir William Guise informs me, to the 13th century. With regard to the burial place of those slain in battle, it appears to have been near the old Turnpike site, on the right hand side of the road to the Ferry at the Lower Lode, for, during some sewerage excavations, a pit was discovered filled with human bones.

THE GRAVES OF THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF CLARENCE.

In April, 1473, Sir John Paston wrote that "the world seemeth queasy"[1] about the disputes between the brothers Clarence and Gloucester, for Gloucester had married Anne, the daughter of the King-maker and widow of Prince Edward, and Clarence swore that "he would not part the livelihood with him." The King settled the quarrel for a time, and Clarence and Isabella kept Tewkesbury, when, in 1477, there arose another of those dark tragedies in which the house of York appears to have been so much involved.

[1] QUEASY: Unsettled (Paston Letters, ii., 127.

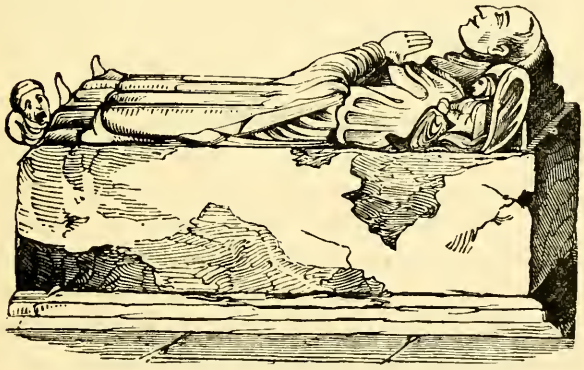
In 1477, Isabella, the daughter of the King-maker and wife of Clarence, died, after an illness of two or three months, and one of her attendants was condemned and executed for poisoning her. She was buried at Tewkesbury, and immediately after her death Clarence proposed to take to wife the great heiress, Mary of Burgundy, and thus excited the jealousy of his brother Edward. Then comes the monstrous accusation, prosecuted by the King in person, that Clarence had sought resource to "damnable magic," and dealt with conjurors and necromancers, to dethrone the King and disinherit his children. We know the rest. He was found guilty, and received sentence of death on the 7th February, 1477; while Shakespeare has immortalized the way in which that sentence was carried out. That the great poet believed that Clarence had a hand in the death of Prince Edward at Tewkesbury there can be no doubt, as exhibited in that passage where, in the dream of "dismal terror," Clarence passes in the "tempest of his soul"—

> "With that grim ferry-man which poets write of,
> Unto the kingdom of perpetual night."
>
> "The first that there did greet my stranger soul,
> Was my great father-in-law, renowned Warwick,
> Who cried aloud,—*What scourge for perjury*
> *Can this dark monarchy afford false Clarence?*
> And so he vanished. Then came wandering by
> A shadow like an angel, with bright hair
> Dabbled in blood; and he shrieked out aloud,—
> *Clarence is come,—false, fleeting, perjured Clarence—*
> *That stabb'd me in the field by Tewkesbury."—Rich. III., Sc. 4.*

After his murder in the tower, the body of Clarence is said to have been laid by the side of his wife in the vault behind the chancel; but their bones appear to have been removed more than once, and some uncertainty must alway hang over the authenticity of the mouldering relics we saw lately in the stone coffin filled with water in the Clarence vault, and attributed to this ill-fated scion of the house of York.

Such is a brief sketch of the days and doings of some of the illustrious dead, whose dust yet mingles beneath the floors of Tewkesbury Abbey. Besides those mentioned are the graves of

numerous ecclesiastics, of which none are worth recording, save, perhaps, that of Abbot Alan, who corresponded with Henry II., and died in the days of King John (1202), and that of Abbot Cheltenham, who was Abbot of Tewkesbury in the days of Edward IV., lived through the troublous times of Richard III., saw the crushing out of the Barons' power, and the changes produced by Bosworth field, and lived on to the days of Henry VIII. (1481 to 1509). The "Skeleton Monk," said to be the tomb of the last Abbot of Tewkesbury is, I am informed, and as suggested by Mr. Blunt, a tomb of a far earlier date; and the wasted form on the tomb is not in the least applicable as a monument of one who, amidst the ruins of the Reformation, took such excellent good care of himself, as did the last Abbot of Tewkesbury, Abbot Wakeman.



Tomb of William Canynge, in Church of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol.

ON THE PROBABLE DATE OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE ROMAN COLONY OF GLEVUM, AND ITS OCCUPATION BY THE SECOND LEGION.

A NOTE BY DR. HÜBNER.

Although the following remarks have already appeared in the Proceedings of the Cotteswold Club, as part of a commentary on my article on the Roman Wall of Gloucester, yet, as these Proceedings are not accessible to the majority of the members of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, and the subject is one which is of great interest to the county history, it has appeared desirable to reproduce them in the present work.—JOHN BELLOWS.

IT is highly probable that GLEVUM was one of the oldest colonies of the south of Britain. A glance at the map shews us Camulodunum (Colchester) in the east, and GLEVUM (Gloucester) in the west, almost exactly under the same degree of latitude.

The detailed account of the Claudian expedition has been lost, with the second half decade of Tacitus' History; the short characteristic notices on the corresponding events in "Agricola," (chapter 14 and following) and in the History (3, 44, and following) cannot, of course, replace it; but with the help of the accounts given in the Annals on the events which took place somewhat later, at the time of the second legate of the Province, nine years after the conquest,[1] we are able to draw the following conclusions from the monuments which are still preserved. Immediately after the landing, after the places on the coast had been occupied and alliances concluded with some of the native princes, A. Plautius, the first legate of the Province (A.D. 43, 44), seems to have concentrated his army in Venta Belgarum (Winchester) about the

[1] Vide Rheinische Museum für Philologie, 1857, p. 47.

Plate II.

ROMAN BRITAIN,

SHEWING THE

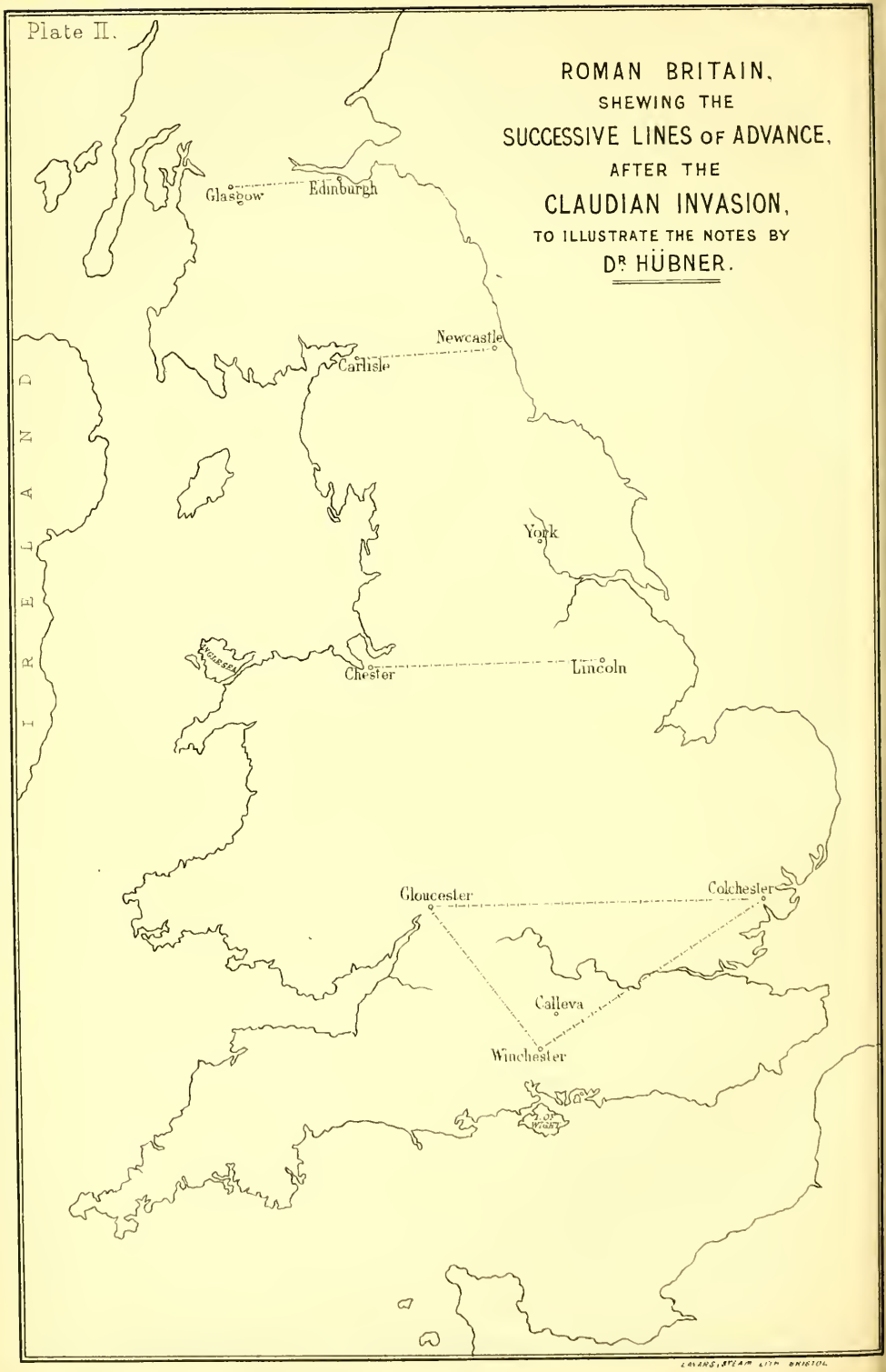
SUCCESSIVE LINES OF ADVANCE,

AFTER THE

CLAUDIAN INVASION,

TO ILLUSTRATE THE NOTES BY

Dr HÜBNER.



LAVARS, BEAM LITH. BRISTOL

centre of the southern part of the peninsula. Only one stone with an inscription has been found, up till now, in this spot (C.I.L. vii., 5); it belongs, probably, to the end of the first, or, the latest, to the beginning of the second century.

The inscription is :—

MATRIB(US) ITA(LI)S GERMANIS GAL(LIS) BRIT(ANNIS)
[A]NTONIUS [LU]CRETIANUS [B(ENE)]F(ICIARIUS)
CO(N)S(ULARIS) REST(ITUIT) [1]

This is a consecration offered in days of old to the Italian, Germanic, Gallic, and Britannic Mothers, the sacred protectresses of those nationalities which furnished recruits to the four legions of the army of occupation, to the II. Augustan, the XIV. Gemina, the IX. Hispana, and the XX. Valeria Victrix, and to their native allies. This inscription was restored by a beneficiary of the consular legate of the province, who may have had his office there in the 2nd century. The Roman Roads which are still in existence, and the position of the Roman settlements, explain the further advance. Advancing by way of Calleva (Silchester), P. Ostorius Scapula first of all fortified some places on the coast, to keep open the maritime connection with Gaul and Germany, and thus secured the first chief section of the Island, as far as the line between the estuaries of the Thamesis and the Sabrina (the mouth of the Thames and the Bristol Channel). The Colony of Camulodunum, or a fortified camp in the neighbourhood, established by Ostorius (Agric. 14), for the purpose of subduing the Ikeni, who lived further east, was most probably the standing quarters (later on also a colony for veterans) of the 14th Legion. This is borne out by the account of the rebellion of Queen Boadicea, which rebellion was put down by the legate of Nero,

[1] An excellent woodcut which I have before me, and which I owe to the kindness of MR. A. S. MURRAY (the inscription is in the British Museum), fairly completes the interpretation I put on it previously : at the beginning of line 6 two letters have been effaced, and we must, therefore, read instead of the name CRETIANUS, which I ought to have rejected from the first, LUCRETIANUS.

Suetonius Paullinus, with the help of this Legion.[1] For the same reason this Legion was the most convenient to order from Britain to Germany for the purpose of fighting against Civilis (Hist. 4, 68, 76), after which it did not return to Britain. Even before the foundation of Camulodunum (the date may have been altered by Tacitus[2] or his authority, in the purposely shortened account F, in order to conform to local tradition), the legate had purposed *cuncta castris Avonam inter et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere*:[3] this is exactly the western region corresponding with Colchester in the east, only lying somewhat nearer Venta—Calleva, the main line of operation. This explains the campaign against Caractacus, which, although ending in a brilliant victory of the Roman troops and the capture of the British Prince, yet did not, as the wording of the account clearly proves, result in a permanent occupation of the territory of the Siluri and Ordoviki.[4] The Siluri surprise the *praefectus castrorum*, who appears here in his proper capacity of governor (Veget. 2. 10), and the cohorts of the Legion who had been left behind. Only internal discord (Ann. 12. 40; Hist. 3. 45) re-establishes after P. Ostorius' death, under his successor, A. Didius, the Roman Supremacy. Venta Silurum, and Isca Silurum were among the forts[5] erected against the Siluri; it is clear that the head-quarters of the Legion were pushed to Isca much later, and after the complete subjection of South Wales.

[1] Ann. 14, 34 jam Suetonio quarta decuma legio cum vexillariis vicensimanis et e proximis auxiliares.....erant. Compare Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, vii., p. 34.

[2] Ann 12, 40 haec quamquam a duobus propractoribus plures per annos gesta conjunxi, ne devisa haud perinde ad memoriam sui valerent.

[3] Ann. 12, 31, according to Nipperdey's interpretation of the text, which I consider the most probable.

[4] Ann. 12, 38 *Censentur Ostorio*—after the pardon of Caractacus, described in such vivid and beautiful colours, which, to my surprise no English artist has chosen for his subject—*Triumphi insignia, prosperis ad id rebus eius mox ambiguis, sive amoto Caratacо, quasi debellatum foret, minus intenta apud nos militia fuit, sive hostes miseratione tanti regis acrius ad ultionem exarsere.*

[5] Compare also Agric. 14, Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis.

From this and another reason, I think it probable that GLEVUM constituted the original standing quarters of the second, as Camulodunum that of the fourteenth legion.

Another reason is this. Exactly in the same systematic and cautious manner in which the occupation of the island had been carried out up till then, it seems to have been continued under the legates of Nero and Vespasian, as far as we are able to judge from the only extant account in Agricola, and which is rather summary and highly coloured. The campaign of Suetonius, against the Isle of Mona (Anglesey), (Agric. 15) is only conceivable with a basis for his operations such as was afforded by the Colony of Deva (Chester), on the northern frontier of the territory of the Siluri and Ordoviki, and which was only completely conquered by Julius Frontinus (Agric. 17). At Deva were always the standing quarters of the twentieth legion.[1]

On the western side Petilius Cerialis, Vespasian's Legate, had begun the further advance against the Brigantes; the Colony of Lindum (Lincoln) is the geographical expression of these operations; probably the original standing quarters of the II. *adjutrix*[2] sent to Britain by Vespasian merely for the purpose of this expedition. Lindum and Deva lie again, corresponding with Camulodunum and Glevum, almost exactly in the same latitude, the one in the east between the estuaries of the Metaris and Abus, the other in the west on the mouth of the river Deva, between the estuaries of the Segeia and Belisama, on the Irish Channel, and thus mark the second chief section of the Island in a proportionately narrow part between the two seas. Finally, the preliminary strategic condition for Agricola's advance to the north (Agric. 25), undertaken after the failure of the expedition against Hibernia, which Agricola carefully disguises by clever wording (Agric. 24), was the establishment of the Colony of Eburacum (York), situated in the country of the Brigantes, in the natural prolongation of the line of Lindum, and of the forts between the mouth of the Tina and Ituna; Tacitus, it is true, nowhere mentions the name of

[1] C.I.L., VII. p. 47. [2] C.I.L., VII., p. 51.

Eburacum, and passes over the fact, probably as something which needs no comment. At Eburacum, undoubtedly and incontestibly, were the standing quarters of the ninth Hispanic Legion and, after Hadrian, of the sixth, which took the place of the ninth, after the annihilation of the latter.[1]

We need but mention the fact that the fortification by Hadrian[2] of the line between the estuaries of the rivers Tina and Ituna (the line Newcastle—Carlisle), the narrowest part of the Island, and finally the building of the wall of Pius between Clota and Bodotria (the line Edinburgh—Glasgow), where Agricola had already constructed and pulled down again some forts,[3] are only a repetition of the same strategic measures by which the southern parts of the Island were gradually occupied. On these two northern lines only, detachments (vexillations) of the four Briton Legions were in garrison for a time: the list of Cohorts and of Alae in charge of these lines, is well known.

The four original Legions of the army of occupation stationed in Britain in the first century, gradually received, one and all, according to the well-tried principles of Roman policy and warlike experience, large fortified Camps, with the institutions and arrangements of a town; the only one of these fortified Camps which remained to be traced was the one destined for the second Legion. This *can only have been* GLEVUM, considering its situation and size, which, as we have seen from the details given in the Proceedings of the Cotswold Club, almost entirely correspond with that of Lindum and Eburacum. The circumstance of the missing inscriptions is partly explained by the subsequent removal of the head-quarters to Isca, whose arrangements Mr. JOHN BELLOWS justly styles "a precise repeat of Gloucester" (p. 33): this, however, by no means implies that there may not at some future time be dug from the foundations of the old houses at Gloucester, a stone bearing an inscription, and which would bear out my supposition. I do not expect to find any legionary tiles, for the oldest tiles found in England, those of the twentieth Legion from Deva,

[1] C.I.L., VII., p. 61. [2] C.I.L., VII., p. 99. [3] C.I.L., VII., p. 191.

and of the ninth from Eburacum, scarcely date back to the end of the first century; but it agrees very well with my supposition that coins of Claudius are the most frequently found in Gloucester. Also the copper coin mentioned in this paper, on which only a head with a long neck and the inscription AVG were distinguishable, is probably a coin of this Emperor, or of one of his predecessors. We can, therefore, with some accuracy, fix upon the year 50 of our era, as the date of the foundation of the Roman Colony of GLEVUM.

Ancient Tile in Canynge's House, Bristol

OBSERVATIONS ON THE IRON CINDERS FOUND IN THE FOREST OF DEAN AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.[1]

By GEORGE WYRALL, of Bicknor Court, Esq.

Communicated by SIR JOHN MACLEAN, 24th January, 1878

INTRODUCTION.

THE following observations were thrown together in the year 1780, at the request of Mr. Isaac Taylor, of Ross, in answer to the under-written Queries, proposed by Doctor Nash, who was then compiling his History of Worcestershire. Having no acquaintance with the Doctor, nor ever read his History, since published, we know not what use he made of these Remarks, nor whether he made any. They were given to Mr. Taylor in a short time after he communicated the Queries.

I.—Of what æra do you think the Iron Cinders were? Are they British, Roman, or Saxon?

II.—Do you find mixed with them Coins, Implements, or anything else that can denote their date?

III.—Is it true that the Cinders yield more or better Iron than the native Ore, dug fresh from the Mines.

IV.—In how large a tract of country do they find them; and how far distant from any of the Mines now worked?

THE Cinders which have been found in large quantities in many parts of the country about the Forest of Dean, are well known

[1] The Rev. H. G. Nicholls had access to this MS., which he describes as "valuable," and several times quotes it in his interesting history of "Iron Making in the Olden Times," having special reference to the Forest of Dean.—ED."

to be the scoria of Iron. So are the shining, glass-like Cinders of which great heaps, or mounts, are to be seen at every Iron Furnace now in use, as well as at the sites of those which are gone to decay. But these are distinguished by the name of Scruff; that of Cinders having been applied to the former long before any of the latter were ever seen.

Scruff is the scoria which rises upon the surface of the metal by the present method of melting the Ore in large Furnaces. But the Cinders were produced and left for us by the works of our forefathers, before the use of the Furnaces was known. The Scruff is a mere Scoria quite destitute of metal, and consisting of a vitreous substance more or less mixed with the impurities carried off with it in its fluid state. The best of it is used as an ingredient in the making of common green glass, for which purpose it is pick'd out and reduced to a fine powder by pounding with large stamping Engines, and at the same time washing away the lighter substances by a stream of water. The refuse of this Scruff is of no other use but to mend the highways—for which it is an excellent covering.[1]

There are also found amongst the Scruff, on stamping, considerable quantities of granulated Iron, and also of ragged lumps, which are called Shot and Scrap Iron. These, in the clearing of the Furnaces, are thrown off with the grosser and less fluid Scoria, and, after being separated by the Stampers, are taken to the Forges and worked up with Pig Iron.

But the Cinders are very different, being not at all vitreous, nor having any transparency like the Scruff; but containing a large quantity of Iron, for the sake of which, since the modern improvements of the Iron-trade, they have been used as a principal material in working the Furnaces of this country. As we have not any works going on in our own times which produce these Cinders, the common opinion is undoubtedly well founded that they were made by the Works called Blomaries, or Blomary Forges.

[1] We must protest against this opinion, the word ought to have been written "execrable."—Ed.

This was a very tedious and elaborate process by which the ancients wrought the metal through many repeated operations, both of fire and the hammer, from the ore as it was raised out of the earth, into the state of Bar-Iron.

Their Bellows were only such as could be blown by the strength of men; and their Hammers no other than Sledges worked by men's arms. For we know that the beds of Cinders are generally found in places where no stream of water could ever be led to turn a wheel, and the quantity of Iron we find in them shews that their blast was not strong enough to extract from the Ores more than a small proportion of the metal they contained.

The work of our Finery-Forges, which perform the first operation on the Pig-Iron after it comes from the Furnaces, appears to have some resemblance to that of the Blomaries; only that our Bellows and Hammers, being driven by water, are larger and more powerful; and these bring the Pig-Iron into a state of malleability as the others did the Ore.

The Cinders, too, which are run from the Fineries, tho' different, are somewhat resembling those of the Blomaries; and, like them, not without unextracted metal.

The present method of melting the Ore in large Iron-Furnaces and running it into massy ingots of what is called Pig-Iron, is a new improvement in the trade; and, as it seems to appear, not of a very remote date. We are at no loss to know how many of these Furnaces have ever been in this country from the heaps of Scruff which still remain to point out their precise situations, nor is it, perhaps, impossible now to discover, pretty nearly, the time of their first erection; and we conceive them to have been some of the first that ever were in England.

The Iron-Works in the Forest of Dean, both before and subsequent to the erection of Furnaces there, belonged to the King, and were work'd for his use; and the inhabitants of the country were always employ'd to raise the Ore for supplying them.

There had also been, for a series of ages, in many places at different distances from the Mines, other works besides the King's, carried on in the blomary way; and afterwards several Furnaces made by private persons: all which were supplied with Ores from the Mines of the Forest.

By an Inquest of the Gentleman Regarders of our Forest, return'd at a Justice-Seat holden as long since as 10°. Edward I., it appears that certain wages, "either in money or in Iron Ore," were settled to be pay'd to these Miners who supplied the King's Works with Ore. What Ore they got more than this supply, or was allowed as Wages, we are, therefore, to conclude was sold by them to other Works.

In process of time the King's works were let out to Farmers, who pay'd an annual Rent to Government for them.

In the 9th year of King James the First, 1612, the King, by Letters patent under the Great Seal, demised to William, Earl of Pembroke, then Constable of the Castle of St. Briavels and Warden of the Forest of Dean, at the yearly rent of £2433 6s. 8d., "all the Iron-Ore, Coal, Wood to make Charcoal, &c., in the said Forest."

The following year an Information was filed in the Exchequer, on behalf of the said Earl, against several Miners, for digging and carrying away these materials to other Works. And an Order of the Court was made consequent thereupon; in which it was considered "that His Majesty's Farmer of the Iron Works, paying a great Rent, would not be furnished with materials to keep the said Forges at work if the said Ore and Cinders should be carried away," and it was ordered "that the Parties and others accustomed to dig, etc., should, of charity and grace, etc., be permitted to continue digging and getting the said Ore and Cinders so that they carry, or cause the same to be carried, to His Majesty's Iron-Works and Forges."

Cinders, it is well known, have not been made use of as a material for any other Iron-Works besides Furnaces, and as by this

Order of Court it appears that as long ago as the tenth year of King James Cinders were then considered as a necessary article for the carrying on of these Iron-Works, it follows that Iron-Furnaces were then in use here. The word "Furnace," indeed, is not mentioned in that record: yet this might well be in the early days of the works. Even now, amongst persons little conversant with Iron-Works, we frequently hear them often spoken of, generally, by the name of "Forges," without attending to the necessary distinction to be made between Furnaces and Forges. The word "Forge," therefore, as used in that place, must necessarily be so understood.

But another record has cleared this up. The same King Anno 19° (1622) demised to Harris and Chaloner "All the Iron-works, with Furnaces, Forges, &c., and agreed that the Miners should furnish them with Ore for the Furnaces at the same prices as they were obliged to serve the King when they were worked on his account." 1617, In the return of Sir William Coke, and others, to a Commission issued out of the Exchequer to enquire concerning the Forest of Dean, it is expressly said that "his Majesty, since the erection of the Iron-works, had received a greater Revenue than formerly." I have in my hands an old Survey, dated in 1635,[1] and by the character evidently written at that time, of all the King's works in this Forest, being then in the occupation of Farmers, who appear to have then had them as much as six Years. How much longer we know not; nor are their names mentioned; but it is probable that they were the same Harris and Chaloner, who, if so, had then about eight years to come of their term.

This manuscript gives a particular account of all the King's Works, of their buildings, dimensions, troughs, machinery, and of even the utensils, with the state of repair everything was in at the time.

From these proofs it appears that Furnaces and Forges, such as are now used for making Iron, tho' since much altered and

[1] Mr. Wyrall made a transcript of this Survey and compiled a glossary of the terms used therein, which Mr. Nicholls has printed in his work —ED.

improved, were in use early in the reign of James the First, and that the Cinders we are enquiring after were then used to be melted with the Ore in working them. But that such works were not known here very long before that time is also, we think, pretty clear from the concurrent tenour of these evidences.

By the record of 1617, these Iron-works, we see, were regarded as a great and a late improvement (for the Iron-works of the Kings, in the old way, had always been here from time immemorial), an improvement from which great advantage had accrued to the Revenue, and from which the highest expectations were entertained. For it must be allow'd that so large a sum as £2,433 6s. 8d. (which in 1612 was a prodigious yearly Rent for an Individual to pay) could only be undertaken to be payed from the inducement of the most sanguine expectations, raised by an extraordinary turn in the trade, unknown and unthought of in former ages.

The ancient Works, or Blomaries, have, in the old records and writings, the name of Forgii or Forgiæ errantes, as being capable of removal from one situation to another. The new names of Furnaces and Forges, and sometimes in those days, of Iron-Mills, distinguish'd the Works, the invention of which had so much encreased the Royal Income. And that they were Furnaces upon the same principle as ours, and Forges such as we call Fineries and Chafferies, and all work'd by water, is perfectly clear from the several particulars which are mentioned in this Survey.

That they had not been of long duration seems also pretty evident. It appears, indeed, that about the year 1630, those Works had been almost in ruins; but an attention to the circumstances will, we think, justify the opinion that this was not the effect of old age; but owing to their having been improperly placed and imperfectly constructed, particularly the Furnaces. One of them had been burnt down: an accident to which they must have been much exposed, as the buildings round them were almost entirely of wood. An other was taken down and rebuilt three feet higher, and, no doubt, of proportionally larger dimensions and stronger. And one more, which had been built but three years before, is said to be "very

much cracked." Most of the Workmen's Houses appear to have been built by these Farmers. The account says *built* not *rebuilt*. One of these was a Cot, raised by some labourers, which the Farmers now found it necessary to have for their men. Conveniences must be added as the want of them is discovered, and as Works are enlarged and improved. Everything, in short, appears at the time when this Survey was taken, to require both amending and improving.

It cannot be supposed that such powerful works were brought to their full perfection but by slow degrees and after considerable experience. The first projectors could not be expected to produce them otherwise than imperfect. They were not aware of the strength required to resist the force of the fire in these Furnaces. They were not adapted to the work by their strength or situation It was not possible that they could work very long without great alteration.

The event has shewn this: they have been long silent, and have resigned the trade to others better placed and more improved. And the small mounts of Scruff to be seen at the places where they stood are a lasting evidence that they were not going on through many reigns.

There was printed in the year 1687 a small book entitled "Rules and Orders of the Court of St. Briavels, in the Forest of Dean," as being "Collected and ascertained by his Majesty's Tenants and Suitors of the said Court, by the direction and approbation of Sir Baynham Throckmorton, Knight, Deputy to the Right Hon. Henry, Lord Herbert of Raglan, his Majesty's Constable of the Manor and Hundred aforesaid," 11 Maij, 15° Car. II., 1663. And along with this there is also printed an old "Account of the Laws and Customs of the Miners of the Forest, as digested and signed by forty-eight of these Miners,"[1] and there said to have been granted to them; but we are not told when and by whom; and no record of any such Grant has ever been produced.

[1] This has been printed, with annotations, by Mr. Nicholls in his work above cited, under the title of "The Miners' Lawes and Priviledges." ED.

This code of their Laws is regarded as the Magna Charta of our Miners and Colliers. Unluckily the date does not appear, so we are left to take our opinion as to the age of the compilation from what we see in the contents. The time of the King's Officer, called the "Gaveller," coming to visit the Mines is mentioned (Sect. 18) to be between "Matins and Masse." It was, therefore, before the Reformation had taken place in England. On the other hand, the language tho' quite in the vulgar dialect of the Forest, shews, we think, that it could not have been written at a much earlier period. But it clearly appears through the whole that at the time when it was written, the Blomaries were in full work round about them, and that no such thing as an Iron Furnace was then known or thought of. Will it, then, upon the whole of these facts, be deemed too bold a conjecture to suppose that the first erections of our modern Furnaces in England were about the middle or end of the 16th century, or during the reign of Elizabeth, under whom every art and manufacture was cherished and promoted? Perhaps it may here be asked: "But where was the cannon found before that time, if there was no Cast Iron?" This, then, requires some consideration.[1]

The use of Artillery, we admit, was known before that period. Some historians have said that it was employed by the English at the battle of Cressy, in 1346. But if any was there it must have been very insignificant and comparatively defective and disregarded: of which we may be assured from the disuse of it which

[1] Cannon, made of iron bars, or staves, bound together with hoops of the same metal, were of early date, and continued long in use. We have a remarkable example of this kind of ordnance in Mons Meg, preserved in Edinburgh Castle, the loading of which, it is said, required a peck of powder and a granite ball. This gun was used at the siege of Dumbarton in 1489, but it was probably in existence long before. A careful drawing to scale is given of it in the "Archæological Journal, Vol. x., 125." The famous ship, the *Mary Rose*, which heeled over and sank at Portsmouth, in 1544, when the captain and 700 men were drowned in the presence of the King, Henry viij., was armed with ordnance of the same description, several pieces of which have been recovered and may be seen in the Tower of London and at Woolwich. One specimen is described and illustrated by the late Sir Charles Lemon in the "Report of the Royal Institution of Cornwall," in 1844.

succeeded for more than a century afterwards. In the details of all the great battles which were then fought—in those of Poictiers (but ten years after that of Cressy), of Agincourt, of Bosworth field, and all the other many bloody engagements between the Houses of York and Lancaster, we see nothing about Cannon : we only read of feats perform'd by showers of Arrows, of Pikes, of Battle-axes, and Scymetars. And as to all the naval engagements of those times, (as well as of one fought but six years before the battle of Cressy) the descriptions relate only to the shooting with Arrows, the grappling of Ships, and fighting hand to hand.

This long silence with respect to Artillery, then quite a new discovery of such great importance, and which afterwards effected so entire a change in the whole art of war, we think not easy to account for if there was any made use of in those engagements. Pretty early, however, in the sixteenth century, or in the reign of Henry the Eighth, it does appear that some Artillery was known and brought into use in the armies and fleets of Europe. And afterwards, in 1588, the Spanish Armada is said to have carried with it an ordnance of two thousand six hundred and thirty great Guns. And we must not suppose that the fleets of the English Queen were not duly prepared to meet them in the same manner. But what were these great guns? Not made of Iron, for we are expressly told they were made of Brass. And as to their size, if they could now be seen they would only discover a proportion, with respect to the Cannon of our days, such as their ships which carried them and which then appeared so terrific, would now exhibit if placed against our First-rates.

After the discovery of gunpowder became known and its wonderful efficacy, the next invention was that of applying it to the destructive purpose of forcing instruments of death through metal tubes. This was more effectual than Bows and Arrows. But to bring the art to perfection was what necessarily required length of time. And men proceeded slowly from age to age to enlarge and improve their Guns, till at length they were used as Ordnance on board their Ships of War ; first of Brass and Wrought Iron, and

afterwards of Cast Iron, from the Furnaces and Iron-foundries, And before the erection of these, we think it may be presumed that there neither was, nor could be made, by any methods then known, any Iron Ordnance such as is now in use.

To what æra, then, is the question, do the Blomary Cinders belong? I do not conceive that they belong exclusively to any particular age or people: but that they have been the work of a very long series of ages.

There has been somewhat of a tradition in the country that they were left in it by the Danes. But this could be no other than mere conjecture, taken, perhaps, from the similarity of the names of those towns amongst us with that of those people, as Michel Dean, Little Dean, and Ruardean, in which places large quantities of these Cinders have been, and still continue to be, found.

Supposing that these towns might have their names from those invaders of whom some settlers might fix there, and admitting that several such settlers might be manufacturers of Iron, and of course that some of the Cinders were left there by them; yet, as we know the length of time the Danes had possession of the country, we also assuredly know that but a small part of the Cinders found in and about those towns could have been made by them.

Cæsar says that the Britons had Iron when he was here, and Brass, but that the latter was imported. It therefore follows that they made the Iron themselves. We are sure that they have had the Ores. No iron could be made without producing some refuse or Scoria, and none has been found but these Cinders, some of which we may therefore believe had been laid here before Cæsar's time.

That large quantities of them were afterwards deposited by the Romans, comes within the certainty of a proof which will not be disputed, for Coins, Fibulæ, and other things known to be in use with that people, have frequently been found in the beds of Cinders at certain places.

This has occurred particularly at the village of Whitchurch, between Ross and Monmouth, where large states of

Cinders have been found, and some of them so deep in the earth (eight or ten feet under the surface) as to demonstrate, without other proof, that they must have lain there for a great number of ages. The present writer has had opportunities of seeing many of these Coins and Fibulæ, &c., which have been picked up by the Workmen in getting the Cinders at this place in his time; but especially one coin of Trajan, which he remembers to be surprisingly perfect and fresh, considering the length of time it must have been in the ground. Another instance occurs to his recollection, of a little image of brass, about four inches long, which was then found in the Cinders at the same place, being a very elegant female figure in a dancing attitude, and evidently an antique by the drapery. If the Cinders of Whitchurch are Roman, there seems to be good reason to entertain the same opinion with respect to others which have been found, but in smaller quantities —at a place called Pitstow, or Peterstow, a few miles further off from the Mines, and by the road leading from Ross to Hereford. In both these places they are somewhat different from most of the other Cinders which we have known, having lost that smutty blackness which others generally retain, and acquired (till well scoured in a stream of running water) the loamy colour of the soil in which they are found buried, and, in a manner, incorporated. These cinders are peculiarly heavy and rich of metal.

At the times when these cinders were made, the country round there undoubtedly abounded with wood and timber. Perhaps it was then a part of the Forest. There is a hill near Whitchurch which it may be presumed was then covered with timber, though now quite bare, having still the name of Copped Wood. Their Ores were found in another hill called Doward, which overhangs the same village, and is now partly covered with wood. These ores I rank with those of the Forest, tho' this hill is not within its liberties, but is separated from it, and from the county of Gloucester, by the river Wye. On the highest point of this last mentioned hill are now to be seen the remains of a Roman Camp. There are also the traces of another Roman Camp, nearly opposite on the other side of the river, at a place now called Symon's Gate.

In the village of English Bicknor, near to the church, and about a mile from this camp, are the vestiges of a very ancient castle, now quite in ruins, of which we know not that an account has been anywhere given.

If we might be allowed here to offer a conjecture, it would be that for a considerable time after the Romans gained a footing in this country, our Forest might be one of the strongest holds of the unreduced Britons: that the invaders, finding Whitchurch to be an eligible situation for their manufacture of Iron, with the Ores and wood near at hand, and particularly having the river between them and their enemies, found it necessary to fortify one or both of these camps against the attempt of the Britons to disturb them, and if Bicknor Castle was then a place of strength it was of importance to that side which could have it.[1]

If the probability of these thoughts should be admitted we may, perhaps, be indulged a little further in supposing that Whitchurch might have been already an Iron-work of the Britons, and that the Romans, finding it a good situation, dispossessed them, and afterwards continued their works there as long as they possessed the Island.

There are now, near the banks of the River Wye, on the Gloucestershire side, some remains of a very old Road, which has been supposed to be Roman. This certainly led to their Works at Whitchurch, and in as direct a line as they could go from their great Road between the Passage, which they then had over the Severn to their Stations at Caerwent and Caerleon.

If we are doubtful as to the Iron-works of the Romans, whether they were such as we have described, Virgil will introduce us into one of their forges, where we may see the Roman Blomary men at their work.

[1] We do not consider the earthworks either at Symond's Yat or at Bicknor to be Roman. They were more likely British defences against their enemies, according to Mr. Wyrall's theory, on the other side of the river. The Romans, undoubtedly, had a station on the Copped Hill on the Herefordshire side of the river, opposite to Symond's Yat.—Ed.

Non aliter lentis Cyclopes fulmina massis
Dum properant, alii taurinis follibus auras
Accipiunt, redduntque alii stridentia tingunt
Æra lacü ; gemit impositis incudibus Ætna ;
Illi inter se magnâ vi brachia tollunt
In numerum, versantque tenaci forcipe ferrum.[1]

GEORG. IV.

As I have not, nor have seen, Dryden's translation of this passage, I will venture humbly to try whether I cannot, from it, in our own language, give some idea of the old English Smithymen, who left us the Cinders.

So Vulcan's journeymen the thunder frame :
Some quench the hissing metal in the stream ;
Some urge the blast from roaring bellows driven,
With timeful strokes by brawny Cyclops given,
In Ætna's forge resounds the vaulted dome,
While swift with grasping tongs these twist the sputtering bloom.

If we have not been so fortunate as to meet with Coins or Implements among the Cinders of other places to identify the particular works of other ages or people, there are yet some considerations which appear sufficient to place it beyond a doubt that the Blomaries continued working and making them thro' all the succeeding ages until the use of the Furnaces was known. The tradition we noticed may, perhaps, be entitled to some degree of credit, so far as to induce us to suppose that a part of our Cinders might be made by the Danes, while they were in this country. Both they and the Saxons (as well as the Romans) had too much use for Iron and Steel to allow of the idea that they fetch'd this metal out of other countreys of which they found here all the materials for making it in plenty, and Iron works carried on in the ages before them. With regard to the English, both before and after the conquest, we have the clearest certainty that they were carried on by them in every age. The Code of Forest Laws we have mentioned makes this very clear. The works we there see were called Smith-works, the men employed in working them, Smith men, or

[1] The reading in the Delphin Edition is somewhat different.—ED.

Smithy men, and the masters who employed them, Smith holders[1] —terms which are not applicable to works of the present times, their workmen, or conductors.

We are there informed that these Smith-works or Blomary works had been in use here from time immemorial, and were then working not only within the bounds and liberties of the Forest, but at many other places at considerable distances, as Monmouth, Caerleon, Newport, Trelleck, and Berkley; at every one of which places we have known Cinders to be raised, and at the three first-mentioned places in very large quantities.

From the same information we learn that these works were all supplied with ores from the Mines of this Forest, some of them of necessity by water carriage, and others, as those of Monmouth and Trelleck, by land, from the hills near the village of Clowerwall. Of which we have had this further evidence that in bringing the Cinders back to be melted a second time in our furnaces we have frequently found pieces of our own Ores unmelted or half melted among them. But in the Book of the Forest Laws it is to be noted that there is no mention of any ore taken to, nor of any Works or Smith men being at Whitchurch or Pitstow, which we think to be a concurring proof that the Cinders found in those places are of greater antiquity.

Our forefathers knew of no Fuel but Wood-charcoal for the making of Iron. The use of Pit-coal for this purpose is of late discovery: nor has it ever yet succeeded in well melting the Ores of this Forest. The vicinity of Woods in plenty was therefore indispensably requisite in fixing the seats of the ancient Iron-works, and this even preferably to that of the Ores, as the Charcoals were a more bulky material and received more injury from long carriage, especially by water. It may, therefore, be taken for a certain rule that wherever large quantities of Blomary Cinders have been found,

[1] There is now raised in our Mines a rich and valuable Ore, being a fine dark-coloured gravel, when wash'd by the rains, which still has the name of Smithy Ore among the miners, and which we doubt not had its name from these Smithy-works as being well adapted to their manner of working, and much valued by those people.

there, undoubtedly, were in the neighbourhood of those places, at the times when the Cinders were made, either very large tracts of land covered with wood and timber so as to support a great manufactory capable of producing those Cinders before the woods were clear'd away, or else that the Works there were less numerous but of very long continuance, and furnish'd with the Charcoals from the Coppice-woods, regularly cut at certain periods. This latter we conceive to have been the case particularly at Monmouth, where some of the last Blomaries appear to have been working; and where we must be at loss to apprehend that woods could be found sufficient to produce the very large banks of Cinders which have been raised there, without supposing these Works to be carried back very far into past ages; and that they were served with Charcoals from Coppice-Woods of periodical fallage.

But if Cinders should be found in places where no Coppice-Woods are near, and it could even be proved how long it is since the country round such spots has been cultivated, enclosed, and clear'd of timber and wood, we might, I think, in such case, venture to conclude that such Cinders are at least of great antiquity.

The Forest of Dean, which is, in all probability, as ancient as any other in the world, has furnished in all former times an abundant supply of wood, inexhaustible for ever by such works, though numerous. And the Cinders left by them have been found in different parts of the country, perhaps to almost as wide a circuit as the Forest is known to have formerly extended. But as the more distant parts were clear'd, the works were of consequence, from age to age, necessarily reduced within the narrower circle; and those that were the nearest to the centre of the Forest (and which were also nearest to the Mines) continued to be worked the longest.[1] Agreeable to this we have seen very large states of Cinders in a great many places in and about the present Forest, and those which have been found at remote distances but inconsiderable.

[1] There is no Iron in the centre of the present Forest; but, accepting the ancient boundaries, the statement would be more nearly accurate. —ED.

The works of Monmouth, Newport, and Caerleon, for the reasons already given, we account not to be of this class, as having their fuel supplied from their own Coppices, but their Ores from the Mines of the Forest. And from this fact we think that it must be inferr'd that the immense quantities of Ores and Iron-Stones, with which their mountains abound, were, in all those early times, either not known to, or not regarded by, the inhabitants.[1]

Upon the whole, as to the Cinders found in those parts of the kingdom, tho' those of certain places may belong to particular æras and people, yet, generally speaking, we hope it has been made to appear that they are the work of a long series of ages, through every period of our own history, and from the time when the art of making iron was first known here, down to the time when the works which made them were superseded by others more effectual; that is, till the invention of Iron-Furnaces was discovered and brought into practice here. In short, that our Cinders are British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, and English.

Whoever may have been much among the Mines of this country will not need many arguments to be convinced of this truth. There are, deep in the earth, vast caverns scoop'd out by men's hands, and large as the aisles of churches, and on its surface are extensive labyrinths worked among the rocks, and now long since overgrown with woods, which, whoever traces them must see with astonishment, and incline to believe them to have been the work of armies rather than of private labourers. They certainly were the work of many centuries, and this, perhaps, before they thought of searching in the bowels of the earth for their Ore, whither, however, they at length naturally pursued the veins as they found them to be exhausted nearer the surface.

With respect to the quality and richness of the Cinders, it has not appear'd that they yield better than the native Ores, if these be well gotten and selected. Nor will it easily be supposed that

[1] There is not Iron-ore very near those places.—Ed.

after having been already worked in the fire they can produce more in quantity. But there is a great difference in the goodness and value both of the one and the other.

The ores of our Forest are of great variety: some of them being much more rich, as well as capable of producing better Iron than others of them: and they are sometimes so ill gotten and adulterated by the Miners as to be of little value.

The Cinders, too, are very different, as they are found in different places, some being light and porous, and yielding little metal, and others heavy and abounding in metal; and of these latter some are more brittle, may be broken into small pieces by slight blows of a hammer, and are more easily brought into fusion; whereas others, but little if any richer in metal, are more obdurate, and require a greater strength of fire to melt them. It is observable that these differences in the banks of Cinders are commonly preserved through the whole of each; and that those which are found in the respective villages, or places, have a resemblance, so that whether it be owing to their being worked from the same particular Mines, or to some peculiar mode or process in the working of the Blomaries, the peculiarity seems to have continued the whole time in which the works were going on there.

These ores, when judiciously chosen and used, I have had some reason to believe are capable of making better and more solid-bodied Iron when worked alone without any mixture of Cinders. But this has been found to be a matter of difficulty, so as to prevent many trials being made. Even the best of the Ores are hard to be work'd in the Furnaces by themselves, owing, probably, to the quantity of heterogeneous matter contain'd in them. They appear to require a certain proportion of other ingredients, exempt from those matters, to bring them into perfect fusion, without which the Scoria (which must be freely separated and drawn off) becomes not sufficiently fluid, and the labour to the men is exceedingly hard to keep the Furnaces clear. This work has, therefore, been attended with great toil and some hazard. Perhaps future experiments may find ways to

obviate this difficulty. The introduction, some years since, of Lancashire ore into the country to be used with ours, instead of cinders, on their becoming scarce, appears to have had a good effect, and to have caused much addition to the profits of the Furnaces.

It seems to be owing to the causes alluded to that no attempts have hitherto proved successful to blow our Furnaces with the pit-coal of the Forest, these coals abounding in sulphur, and not being, in their nature, sufficiently absorbent to reduce the ores which are so replete with noxious substances.[1]

The adventurers who first erected Iron-Furnaces in this country appear, therefore, to have been singularly fortunate in finding, near at hand to the places they made choice of, not only the Mines for supplying the Ores, but also the two other materials for working them which only could, we doubt, then have rendered their endeavours successful : namely, that fuel which had ever been found the best, and, perhaps, the only one capable, from its absorbent nature, of working these Ores advantageously ; and also an ingredient ready prepared for them by their predecessors, from which the noxious substances had been discharged, and therefore well fitted to the intention of assisting to bring the Ores into fusion in their furnaces ; and also itself contributing a large proportion of metal. Had it not been for these coincident circumstances, our first Furnaces would not, we think, have been successful ; and the Iron trade would have been many years longer before it would have attained its present state of improvement and perfection.

Whether such Cinders as ours are found in distant parts of the kingdom, or what may have been produced from other Mines, are

[1] Great improvements have been made in the method of smelting the Iron Ores of the Forest within the present century. At first the use of the ancient Cinders and Lancashire Ore was superseded by mixing with the Forest Ores a certain proportion of lime-stone and coke, made from a Forest seam of coal called Lowery, or Low Delf. Since 1831, however, the quantity of lime used has gradually decreased, and it is now, it is believed, wholly discontinued ; the poor Calcareous Ores of West Dean being substituted for it. We are indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. Heane, Surgeon, of Cinderford, who has long been a resident in the Forest, and has been closely connected with the Coal and Iron trade of East Dean, for this information.—Ed.

questions which I am not prepared to answer: I can only speak as to these which are known to have been made from the Ores of our Forest and its vicinity, the principal beds of which have been found at moderate distances from the Mines, and no very large ones further off than at Monmouth, excepting those at Newport and Caerleon. The Cinders at Pitstow are five or six miles from the Mines at Doward, but the quantities there and at Berkley being not so great as at many other places, we conclude that those works were not of such long continuance.

The Blomaries of Michel Dean and Little Dean we apprehend to have been supplied with their Ore from a part of the Forest called Edgehills, being near to those places or towns. But the Mines there, as well as those of Doward, have not been open'd for a very long time. There have been small quantities of Cinders found at some other places, as far as ten or twelve miles from any of our Mines which we know. These, for the reasons already given, we may suppose to have been laid there a great many centuries past, when the Forest extended to those distances.

Since the foregoing remarks were thrown together, I have been informed that a gentleman, not many years dead, once found in a remote part of Yorkshire an old man working at a Blomary Forge. And the Gentleman, being himself a perfect master of the iron trade and works, stay'd with the man till he had inspected and inform'd himself of his mode of working; and then wrought with his own hand, a piece of Iron from the Ore to the Bar. This anecdote was related to me by the son of that Gentleman, Mr. James Cockshutt, late of Ponty Pool. G. W.

ARMS OF THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER.

By J. D. THOMAS NIBLETT, Esq., F.S.A.

The usage of the City of Gloucester in respect to Armorial Insignia has been very variable, and it is remarkable to what an extent the horse-shoe and nails prevailed in the charges in the earlier periods. This may have arisen from the fact that Gloucester, from the earliest time of its history, was always famous as a market for wrought iron. The iron was brought by the Severn trows from the Forest of Dean, and so superior was the quality, that Gloucestria—or Glovernia—hardware was much sought after.[1] A street in Gloucester was known, in the middle ages, as *vicus fabrorum*, and as "Old Smith Street." This street leads direct to the Severn, and is now called "Long Smith Street." We read in Domesday Book that the City of Gloucester paid to King Edward the Confessor, thirty-six *dicras*[2] of iron and 100 malleable iron rods for nails of the King's ships, and, probably, this acknowledgment was even then very ancient. It will be noticed that there is nothing here respecting horse-shoes or nails, and it is not unlikely that in the subsequent two or three centuries the payment had been somewhat modified. A seal connected with the City is remarkable for these devices. It is of silver, of the time of

[1] Nicholl's Iron-making in the Forest of Dean, p. 17.

[2] A dicra of iron consisted of ten bars, and a dicra (dicker) of leather of ten hides.—(*Bailey's Dict.*) A dicra of gloves was ten pairs, a dicra of horse shoes, five sets. The original, in Domesday, unmistakeably reads *dicras* implying a decimal number or quantity.

King Edward III., for the Recognizances of Debtors, and is now in the official custody of the Town Clerk. It is circular, and twenty-five lines in diameter, and is surrounded by the legend, S' EDWARDI : REG : ANGL' : AD : RECOGN : DEBITOR : APVD : GLOVCESTR. It is semee of horse-stubs, or nails, the King's bust, full-faced and crowned between two horse-shoes in fess; in base the lion of England, as in the margin.[1]

There are two other ancient seals also in the possession of the Town Clerk, the devices on which are not connected with horse-shoes, nails, or iron, but which, in treating of the Arms of the City, demand our notice. The first is a seal of the Bailiffs of Gloucester, circular, in diameter $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches. It is of silver, and appendant to a chain of the same metal, furnished with a swivel and loop for attaching it to a girdle. The design is a castle with a central spire, surmounted by a cross, and flanked by two crenelated towers. In base is water, representing, it is presumed, the River Severn, and in chief are two stars of six points. Surrounding it is the legend in lombardic capitals, of which the cross on the spire forms the initial: ✠ SIGIL : BALLIVOR : GLOVCESTRIE. This seal would appear to be as early as the 13th century. (*See plate IV., fig.* 1). The second seal is like unto it, and is of about the same date. It is surrounded by the legend, also in lombardic capitals: ✠ SIGILLVM : BVRGENSIVM : DE : GILDE : MERCATORVM. There is an ancient floor tile in the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral, bearing the same device as these seals, except that there is no indication of water below the Castle or stars above it. As these devices are not upon shields, we can scarcely regard them

[1] A seal precisely similar, except that castles are substituted for horse-shoes, belongs to the City of Canterbury.

armorial, though the former, undoubtedly, formed the official seal of the Bailiffs of the town, until those officers were superseded by the grant of a Mayor by King Richard III., in 1484. At the same time that sovereign gave his own sword and cap to the first Mayor, and these insignia form conspicuous objects in all subsequent usage of arms for a considerable period.

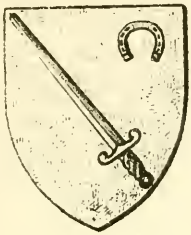
The earliest example which has come to our knowledge is that on a shield found carved in oak on the fascia of the gable of an old half-timbered house in West Gate Street, of the latter half of the 15th century. This house has now been taken down and rebuilt, but the fascia is shortened and preserved in the interior of the shop in the new building. This shield is charged with a sword in bend, point upwards, and in sinister chief a horse-shoe. (*Plate IV., No.* 2.) That this device, bearing the sword of the King, beloved and honoured in Gloucester, and having reference to the ancient use of the horse-shoes, was adopted by the first Mayor, is exceedingly probable, and supported by the fact that in 1529 the arms used by the Mayor were based upon similar charges. John Cook, Alderman, in making a grant of land to the Crypt School, on the 12th May, 20 Henry viij., and Joan Cook, his widow, on 8th March, 1535, used the Seal of the Mayor for the express reason that their own seal was *quam plurimis incognitum.* The charges are semée of stub-nails, a sword in bend, point upwards, between six horse-shoes, and it is surrounded by the legend: SIGILLVM: MAIORALITATIS: VILLE: GLOVCESTRIE. (*Plate IV., No.* 3.) In the spandrils of the arch of the doorway of the Old Crypt School, built a short time afterwards, we find on one side a cinque-cente-shaped shield, bearing a merchant's mark, and on the other side a similar shield bearing a device composed of the same charges as the seal last mentioned, viz.: a sword in pale, point upwards, on the point a cap turned up ermine between, on each side a horse-shoe in chief, and three horse-stubs in base. (*Plate IV., No.* 4.) We conclude that these were the arms used by the Mayor at that date, because of the similarity of the charges to those on the previous seal, and from the cap on the sword point, which was, doubtless, the representation of the

Cap of Maintenance given to the City by King Richard III., in 1484. And this view is confirmed by the actual grant made to the City, by Christopher Barker, Garter King of Arms, on 18th October, 1538, which is thus blazoned in the Patent. Vert, on a pale gules, between two horse-shoes, each horse-shoe between three stub-nails, two in chief and one in base, all meeting with their points to the shoe, argent, a sword in a scabbard, azure, hilt, pomel, and studding, or. On the point of the sword a cap of maintenance, gules, turned up ermine. On a chief per pale, or, and purpure a boar's head couped argent; in his mouth a quince apple between two demi-roses; the dexter gules the sinister argent, both barbed vert, each issuing rays from its centre pointing to the boar's head, or. Anything heraldically more monstrous, or artistically more hideous than this blazon it is difficult to conceive, and it seems surprising that the city "bore" with the grant as long as it did. (*Plate IV., No. 5.*)

Shields of these arms are found surmounting the monument in Gloucester Cathedral of Thomas Machen, who was three times mayor of the city, and died 18th October, 1614.[1] On two of three enamelled heraldic plaques, belonging to A. Booth, of Gloucester, Esq, and exhibited by the writer at the Society of Antiquaries in 1876, are the same arms. Both plaques are slightly convex. On one, which is $1\frac{3}{10}$in. in diameter, the coat is surrounded by an ornamental border, having a translucent green enamel of the same hue as the field, except where four pairs of volutes are left, and parcel gilt. There are traces of red enamel in the cap of maintenance, and on the hilt of the sword, the scabbard being of dark blue enamel. The second plaque is of a larger size, having a diameter of $2\frac{1}{8}$in. In this

[1] Fosbrooke's History of Gloucester, page 138 and plate.

ARMS OF THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER.



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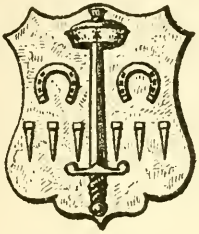

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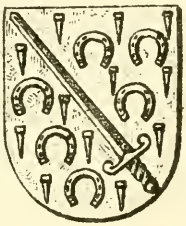

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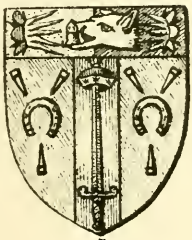

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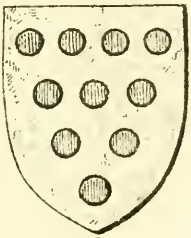

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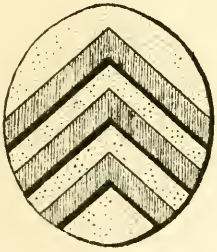

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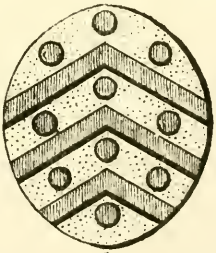

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W. IAGO. B.A

case the city arms, as above, are impaled with :—gules, on a chevron argent, three escallops sable between as many roses of the second, all within a bordure engrailed ermine.[1] These arms have not been identified, but they were, doubtless, those of some Mayor or Alderman of Gloucester. On a monument in Haresfield Church, commemorating Blanche Oviatt, widow of Peter Oviatt, vicar, who married, secondly, D. Gardner, are somewhat similar arms :—On a chevron between three cinquefoils as many escallop shells. There are no tinctures shewn, and it will be observed that this coat bears *cinquefoils* instead of *roses*, and is destitute of the bordure.

The same arms, with the substitution of two maces in saltier on the pale for the sword and cap of maintenance, are found on the monument of John Walton, Alderman of the City, in the Church of St. Nicholas. He died 20th September, 1626, and was there buried.

On the monument of John Jones, three times Mayor of Gloucester, and Burgess in Parliament, as well as Registrar to eight succeeding Bishops of the Diocese, who died 1st June, 1630, besides a large shield of his family arms with 5 quarterings,[2] are two oval medallions, the dexter charged with the arms of DeClare, or, three chevronels, gu. ; that on the sinister : or, three chevronels, gu., between ten torteaux, exactly like the modern arms of the city of Gloucester—(*Plate IV., No.* 7 *and* 9). On a bracket on each side of the monument are two maces, gu. Whether or not the medallions here found shewed Mr. Jones' connection with the City or with the Diocese, or with both, would seem to be uncertain. It is remarkable that the Bishops of Gloucester, during the 16th and 17th centuries, used the arms of De Clare, ensigned on the middle chevronel with a mitre.—(*Plate IV., No.* 8.) The arms so borne

[1] In Papworth's Ordinary the coat:—ār, on a chev. between three cinquefoils az., as many escallop shells of the first, is ascribed to Hawkins; and az. on a chev. or, between three roses, ar., as many escallops sa., to Templeman, of Dorchester (see Proc. Soc. Antiq., 2nd Series, vol.viii, p. 98). We are indebted to the Society for the use of the block.

[2] Fosbrooke, page 154.

may be seen on the monument of Bishop Goldsborough in the Lady Chapel, who died 16th May, 1604, and as used by his successor, Bishop Ravis, who was translated to London in 1607, and whose arms, so blazoned, remain in painted glass in the Bishop's Palace. The same arms are also found on the monument of Bishop Tomson at Windsor, who died in 1613, and on that of Bishop Miles Smith on a ledger-stone in Gloucester Cathedral, who died in 1624.

The De Clare arms also formed the basis of a new grant of arms, made to the city on 14th August, 1652, in which are incorporated the Arms of the See of Worcester. (*Plate IV., No.* 6.) which arms are still used, viz.: or, three chevronels between ten torteaux—three, three, three, and one. (*Plate IV., No.* 9.) The disused arms, granted by Barker, are preserved in the painted glass of one of the windows in the Houses of Parliament.

SOME RECORDS OF MATSON IN THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER, AND OF THE SELWYNS.

By the Rev. WILLIAM BAZELEY, M.A.

Rector of Matson.

Read at Gloucester, 24th January, 1878.

The most conspicuous features in the landscape on the south and east of Gloucester are the grassy slopes of Mattesdon and Churchdown. We can easily imagine that in some earlier period of the world's history, when the Vale of Severn was an estuary of the western sea, these two hills were islands off the Cotteswold Coast.

The comparatively recent name of Robins' Wood Hill was derived from a wealthy family who settled at Matson, as tenants of the Abbey, early in the 16th century. The further change of the name to Robin Hood's Hill was, no doubt, owing to a peculiar pronunciation of the letter "W" which is not confined to this county. I am afraid that we cannot claim any connexion with the brave robber of Sherwood Forest. It is possible that "Mattesdon" may be derived from the Teutonic "Matte," a meadow, and "Düne," a down.

Most of our county historians speak of iron mines on the hill, but they have probably been misled by the shallow and exhausted quarries on the summit, or by a spring near the church, the ferruginous waters of which have a local fame for benefiting weak eyes.

There are some remains of trenches at the northern foot of the hill, which are said to have been used as breast-works by the Royalist troops during the siege of Gloucester in 1643, but a

recent discovery of Roman pottery,[1] lying side by side with the bones of domestic animals, leads me to think that there was a legionary camp here as far back as the first century. During the alarm created by the Spanish Armada, a beacon was set up on Mattesdon Hill in connexion with a chain of beacons from the west, and a little house was erected near the summit for the watchmen. This beacon was watched day and night from July 1588, till the departure of the Spaniards from our coasts.

Three times, at least, Mattesdon has been honoured with the presence of Royalty: in 1355, when the Black Prince came here to settle a dispute between the Abbey of St. Peter and the Convent of the Grey Friars concerning a spring of water, in 1643, when Charles the First was besieging Gloucester; and in 1788, when George the Third was the guest of George Augustus Selwyn.

The history of this little village, previous to the Reformation, is, of course, very fragmentary, but such notices as I have found of the principal residents in the records of St. Peter's Abbey and Lanthony Priory may not be altogether uninteresting.

MATTESDON is not mentioned in Domesday Book, because it was not a separate manor at the time of the Conquest, but formed part of the King's Barton, the ancient demesne of Osric, Alredus, and other sub-Kings of Mercia. In the third volume of the History and Cartulary of St. Peter's Monastery of Gloucester, published by the authority of the Master of the Rolls, there is a list given of the Freeholders and Copyholders of King's Barton during the reign of Edward the First.[2] The manor appears to have been held of the crown by the Abbey, during this and the preceding reign, at a rental of £46 7s 2½d. per annum, and to have produced £50.[3] At the expiration of the Abbey lease, Margaret and Eleanor, Queens of England, held it; but in the 19th year of Edward the Third, it was granted to the Abbey, together with the

[1] This pottery has been found on the site of the new parsonage house, in what appears to have been a moat, or trench; and is, some of it, of very early character.

[2] Hist. et Cart., iii., 67. [3] Ibid, iii., 103.

fishery of Minsterworth, in exchange for the advowsons of Wyrardsbury and Langley Marsh, at an annual rent of £48.[1] After this annexation no distinction appears between King's Barton and the manor of Barton Abbot's which was granted to the Monastery in the time of Eva, the third Abbess, by Alredus, the sub-king of the Mercians, A.D., 681.[2, 3] The De Mattesdons had probably been free tenants of their land, with conditions of military service, from an early period of English History.

Ralph de Mattesdon[4] gave to the monks of St. Peter, Gloucester, the Church of Mattesdon, in the time of William the Abbot (William Godeman, A.D. 1113—1130).

During the episcopacy of Simon of Worcester (1125—1150), Ernulph, son of Ralph de Mattesdon, conceded to the Abbey the Church of Mattesdon, the cemetery, tithes and the right of induction. The Bishop was present at the concession, and witnessed the deed of gift.[5] Ernulph held lands also at Prinknash, in the manor of Buckholt, and a certain beech tree there, on which a noted robber had been hanged, is mentioned as the boundary between Ernulph's property and that of the Abbey. This was in the year that Henry I. married Adeliza, 1129.[6]

Ernulph was succeeded by his son and heir, Philip, who confirmed to the Abbey his father's gift of the "chapel," which was close to his house, and within his curtilage.[7] We find, accordingly, in the list of churches belonging to St. Peter's, "Capella de Mattesdone."[8] It would seem, from a grant of Walter, Bishop of Worcester, signed November 30th, 1215, that as early as the year 1100, when Serlo was doing his utmost to recruit the exhausted resources of the Abbey, Samson, Bishop of Worcester, conceded to him and his monks a pension of ten solidi belonging to the Chapel of Mattesdon.[9]

[1] Ibid, i., 65. [2] Ibid, i., 64.

[3] Fosbrooke's Hist. of Glou., vol. i., 241.

[4] Hist. et Cart., i., 100 [5] Ibid, ii., 259. [6] Ibid, i., 63, 205.

[7] Hist. et Cart., ii., 259. [8] Ibid, iii., 31 [9] Ibid, ii., 41, i., 328.

All that remains of this early chapel, or church, is a Norman cross, built into the east side of the turret of the present church. I think it very probable that the de Mattesdon manor house and church stood in the field on the north side of Robins' Wood Hill, known as Moat Leaze. The part nearest the high road is called Chapel Hey. The present church stands on the site of an earlier church, probably of the same date as the Elizabethan manor house.

It is related in the Cartulary that there was a dispute between Hammeline, (Abbot of Gloucester, A.D.1148—1179) and Philip de Mattesdon about certain lands in King's Barton, which was settled in the following manner, on the 19th of February, 1159. Philip gave up to Hammeline ten acres of arable land called Wydebosme, and two acres of meadow land in Suthmede. The Abbot, on behalf of the monks, confirmed to Philip the possession of all his other lands, on condition that he should render military service and do as the other free tenants of the manor. Philip did homage to the abbot, and took an oath of fealty to the Church and monks in the Chapter House; then he and Hammeline signed the deed of agreement on the high altar of St. Peter. Amongst the witnesses were Ralph, Philip's brother, Herbert, the door-keeper, Morinus, the dispenser, Roger Baselei, and others.[1]

The next De Mattesdon of whom I find any mention is Geoffry, who was probably son and heir of Philip.[2] He does not appear to have been a patron of the Abbey, nor was his son, Thomas de Mattesdon, who conceded to Walter, son of Gilbert de Dickeley, certain lands in Snedham, which his father had held.[3] It may be worthy of mention that two fields in Matson still bear the name of Dickeley. There are frequent notices of the De "Snedhams" in the Abbey records, and there is now in a field adjoining Snedham Green a moat in a very perfect condition, which, not improbably, defended the "De Snedham" mansion seven centuries ago.

[1] Hist. et Cart., vol. i., 180.

Abbot Froucester's Register, Glou. Cath. MSS., A. 709.

[3] Ibid., 709

The son and heir of Thomas de Mattesdon was Symon de Mattesdon, who granted to the Abbey of St. Peter his whole land in Romeshurne in Tredworth Field, in three parcels, under yearly rent of a pair of gloves and a halfpenny. He also granted, for three marks, certain selions in Over Alden, Oldfield, four of them lying close to a selion belonging to the Church of Upton, and near the highway of Oldfield, and other parts lying in Weteruggefield, between Daneros and Lassborough lands.[1]

Symon made careful provision for his wife, Alicia, and left all the rest of his possessions to his sons, Philip and John.[1] Certain lands which he had held of the Abbey were conceded at his death by Reginald, (Abbot A.D. 1263—1284), to Robert de Putteley, a burgess of Gloucester, who was sheriff in 1247, and bailiff in 1261.[2] John de Mattesdon appears in the Lanthony Register as a generous patron of that Priory. He gave and conceded to God and S. Mary and the Canons of Lanthony a whole moiety of his land in Mattesdon belonging to the King's Manor, the Abbot's Manor, and the Manor of Herbert Fitz Peter, reserving his principal mansion, with the garden, granaries, and wood belonging to it, but adding a parcel of ground on which the Prior could erect a barn and ox-house, and also Howsbote and Heybote out of his wood.[3] In another grant, he gave to the Priory as much stone out of his quarry at Prinknash as the monks chose to take away, insuring them the right of way through his lands.[3]

I have been often told by the villagers that the stone for building Lanthony Priory was quarried on Painswick Hill, and conveyed to Gloucester by an artificial canal, the remains of which are still to be seen.

John de Mattesdon alienated to Herbert Fitz-Peter certain lands in Mattesdon, which had been left as a jointure to his mother, Alice de Mattesdon; and Fitz-Peter proceeded to bestow

[1] Ibid., 718. [2] Hist. et Cart., ii., 258.

[3] Lanthony Reg., Thirlstane House Library.

Until recently the arms of Lanthony Priory were to be seen at Seyne Bridge Farm.

them on the Priory of Lanthony.[1] When he had thus stripped himself of most of his worldly possessions, John de Mattesdon entered holy orders, and in the twenty-first year of Godfrey Giffard, (Bishop of Worcester A.D. 1268—1302) he was instituted to the Chapel or Church of Mattesdon.[2] I find in Abbot Froucester's Register more than one transaction between the Abbey and John de Cappaloze, who is probably identical with John de Mattesdon.[3] It was probably at this time (1287) that an enquiry was made into the extent of King's Barton by 24 jurors of the hundred of Dudestone, and I find, amongst the freeholders, the Abbot of Gloucester, the Prior of Lanthony, and Philip de Mattesdon, holding each one virgate of land, and paying an annual rent, by quarterly payments. Henry de Lessebere, and Dyonisia, his wife, held one virgate-and-a-half, and also a mill called Goswite-mill. William d'Albianico, or Daubeney, held one virgate and half-a-hide. Soon after this the manor of King's Barton was incorporated with Abbot's Barton, and a new inquisition was made.[5]

It would appear that in addition to their money rental, several of the free tenants were bound to provide a horse at the summons of the Bailiff, or Cellarer, and if a monk rode anywhere on the business of the church, one of these might be called upon to find a squire to accompany him. If the abbot did not require this service they were to pay a fine instead, and so obtain a release. They were also bound to attend every court-day at Gloucester, and the halimote of Barton, twice a year. When they died, the abbot was to have their horse, harness, and arms; and if there was not a horse the abbot liked, their executors were to pay a fine instead. If their son and heir were a minor the abbot was to have wardship of him and his lands.[6] As it happened, Simon de Mattesdon died when his eldest son and heir, Philip, was under age, so we find him in the abbot's care.[7] He is said to hold one carucate of land, subject to his mother, Alice's, jointure, rendering the

[1] Lanthony Reg., Thirlstane House. [2] Bishop's Reg., Worcester.
[3] Abbot Froucester's Register, 715, 716. [4] Hist. et Cart. S. Pet., iii., 67.
[5] Ibid, iii., 149. [6] Hist. et Cart. S. Pet., iii., 49, 50.
[7] "Qui nunc est in custodiâ domini abbatis, &c." Hist. et Cart, iii., 150.

service of a horse and man for the whole year if the abbot requires it, or paying a fine instead of such service.[1] Philip married Isabella, and died very early in life, leaving a young son, Philip, his son and heir. It is recorded that he conceded to the monks a certain stone-house which the monks had constructed under Mattesknowle for an aqueduct.[2] There is a field on the hill which is known at the present time as "Well House Ground," and, what is more, the well itself is there, covered with a massive, horizontal cross.[3]

There is an indenture in abbot Froucester's Register, between Isabella, relict of Philip son of Symon of Mattesdon, and the abbot for the time being, by which she concedes certain lands to the abbey,[4] and another deed records the concession by Reginald, (Abbot A.D. 1263-1284) to Philip son of Philip de Mattesdon, of a messuage in Snedham, which had been previously held by John Daubeney; for which he was to pay 20 shillings per annum, besides rendering homage and service.[5]

About this time William de Gardino held lands at Mattesdon, and is said to have conceded certain rights to the abbey, relating to their water supply[6]; he was present, together with Philip de Mattesdon, as witness to the concession of a messuage and carucate of land at Brocworthe to Walter Knight, and Hawysia, his wife, by John, (Abbot A.D. 1284-1307).[7] Altogether, I confess to some difficulty in distinguishing between the two Philips, father and son; but it appears that Philip senior died before 1284.

In the subsidy of Edward III. (1327), Isabella de Mattesdon is assessed to the amount of 6d., whilst William de Dikkeley has to pay 2s., and Ralph Whitbred, 21d.

The next de Mattesdon, of whom I find any mention, is William, who married Matilda, daughter of John Daubeney and his wife Ciceley, the daughter and heiress of Elias de Godely.[1]

[1] Ibid. iii., 150. [2] Bigland, II., 100. [3] See engraving in Poole's Crosses of Gloucester. Abbot Froucester's Register, 722.
[5] Hist. et Cart, ii., 286. [6] Bigland, ii. 100. [7] Hist et Cart., iii., 233.

John Daubeney was the son of John Daubeney,[2] and the grandson of William Daubeney, who married the daughter and heiress of Henry de Lessebre, by Dionysia, his wife.[3] *(Vide post, p.* 274).

The Daubeneys were lords of Kingsholme, and very wealthy. It would seem that Elias Daubeney, the only brother of Matilda wife of William de Mattesdon, had by his wife Joan, a son Richard, who died s.p.,[4] and a daughter Elizabeth, wife of Sir Gilbert Giffard, whose son and heir, John, also died s.p., whereupon the manor of Kingsholme reverted in fourths to the heirs of the daughters of John Daubeney: i.e., of Matilda, wife of William de Mattesdon, Eva, wife of Simon Cadull, Ciceley, wife of Robert Sage, and Isabella, wife of John Swonigre.[5]

William de Mattesdon had a son William, who inherited this fourth part of Kingsholme, and a daughter Christiana.[5]

Nicholas de Mattesdon, son and heir of this William, married Margaret, daughter, and co-heiress with Alice wife of Thomas de Brugge, of Thomas de Berkeley, of Cubberley, who died in 1404.[6]

The De Mattesdons, with a moiety of the Cubberley estate, and a fourth of Kingsholme, had become very wealthy, but they were not destined to enjoy their riches long. Nicholas de Mattesdon died in 1435, leaving an only son, Robert de Mattesdon, the last of his race. He died s.p. in 1457, and his share of the Kingsholme manor reverted to the heirs of Matilda Daubeney's sisters.[7] Amongst others, John Thorpe, the great-grandson of Isabella Swonigre, obtained a share in addition to his own fourth. His great-grandson, Nicholas Thorpe, alienated it to Rowland Arnold, whose daughter and heir, Dorothy, carried it in marriage

[1] Esc. 6 Ed. iii., No. 3a, Pars. 2. Esc. 16 Rich. ii., Pars. 1, No. 16. Esc. 19. Ed. iii., No. 27

[2] Hist. et Cart., ii., 79, 286.

[3] Esc. 32 Ed. i. No. 52. Hist. et Cart., iii., 67, 69, 150

[4] Esc. 38 Ed. iii., No., 12.

[5] Esc. 16. Ric. ii., Pars. 1, No. 16.

[6] Esc. 6 H. iv., No. 5.

[7] Esc., 36 H., vi., No. 23.

to Thomas Lucy, son of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecot, in Warwickshire, whose daughter carried it to Sir William Cook, of Highnam. Henry Guise obtained it with Mary, daughter and co-heir of Edward Cook, and the Guises alienated it to John Pitt.[1] Some part of the De Mattesdon estates seems to have passed into the hands of Sir William Nottingham, the king's attorney-general, and I find that he conceded it to the abbot and monks of St. Peter, in 1470, on condition that they should provide two regular chaplains from their number to pray daily for his soul, and the souls of Cecilia and Eliza, his two wives, and the soul of John de la Bere, Bishop of St. David's.[2] (*For the pedigree of the Mattesdons and their descendants, see Pedigree No. I., pp.* 273-275.

The abbey granted leases of this land to Thomas Meryett, Ockley, and Lane, and on the expiration of these, in 1526, Abbot Parker granted a lease of them for 70 years to Thomas Robins, and Joan, his wife.[3]

The family of Robins continued to hold this manor as lessees after it had been allotted by Henry VIII. to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, as part of their endowment. They appear, on many occasions subsequently as freeholders of Matson. John Robins, the son of Thomas, died in 1563, seized of land, his son Thomas, who was married to Joan, daughter of Lawrence Singleton, of Singleton Hall, Lancashire, being then 24 years of age.[4]

Margaret, daughter of Thomas and Joan, married at King's Stanley, on the 13th day of January, 1591, Jasper Selwyn, and as heiress, brought him, certain lands at Matson, in dowry. (*See Pedigree, page* 280.

On referring to the parish registers I find Richard Robins living at Matson, from 1562 to 1571, and John Robins from 1571 to 1605. Henry Robins, a member of this family, was town clerk at Gloucester, and died in 1603 at a great age. His monument was to be seen in Bigland's time, in the Cathedral, in the north aisle. Till very lately there was a slab in Matson church,

[1] Sir Robt. Atkins' Hist. of Glou., p. 307. [2] Bigland's Collections.
[3] Glou. Reg. MSS. [4] Esc. 6 Eliz. No. 204.

in memory of Anne, relict of John Robins, of Matson, Esq. She was a daughter of William Stratford, of Farmcote, and died in 1663.

Dorothy, the wife of William Robins, who was grandson of John and Anne Robins, was buried at Matson in 1732.

At the county election of 1734, amongst the Matson freeholders entitled to vote I find the name of William Robins, gent.

It is said that the widow of Dr. Ironside, (Bishop of Hereford, A.D. 1691-1731) lived for some years after her husband's death in the family mansion of the Robinses.

I have mentioned the gift of certain lands in Mattesdon to the priory of Lanthony, by John de Mattesdon and Herbert Fitz Peter, about the reign of Edward I. This estate appears in the "exhibition of benefits," which was made at the request of John, Bishop of Worcester, when he visited the priory in 1407. On the dissolution of the monasteries it was sold by Henry VIII. to the mayor and corporation of Gloucester, in the name of Mattesden Manor House, with appurtenances, arable and pasture.

The corporation sold it in 1544 to Thomas Lane, who was the first Recorder of Gloucester; he had held some offices under the abbey, and was one of Henry the VIII.'s commissioners for the valuation of church property in Gloucestershire. He died in 1547, and is said to have been buried in the Cathedral, but there is no monument to his memory.[1] From Thomas Lane, the estate passed, by purchase, to Richard Pate, who was member of parliament for Gloucester in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, and recorder from 1556 to 1588. Fosbrooke describes him as a very excellent and charitable man, benefactor to St. Bartholomew's, and founder of Cheltenham Grammar School. There is a monument to his memory in the south transept of the cathedral, with a Latin inscription.[2]

[1] Fosbrooke's Hy. of Gloucester.

[2] Richardus Pate Armg. huic nuper civitati a memoriâ, qui vixit annos 73, et obiit 27 October, 1588, sibi et conjugi et natis suis posuit.

The following motto and arms were on the canopy: "Mihi vita Christus, Christus mea spes unica." Argent, a chevron sable, between three pellets; on a chief of the second three crosses patée fitchée of the first.

The figures, representing him, his wife, and children, have been removed from the tomb during this century.

The two daughters and co-heiresses of Richard Pate were married, one of them to Richard Brooke, who was rector of Matson in 1556, and the other to Richard Lygon, who was in possession of the manor of Matson, and had livery of it, in 1565. Susan Brooke, married secondly Sir Ambrose Willoughby, second son of Charles, second Lord Willoughby, of Parham, and descendant of the Willoughbys, of Eresby and Willoughby. Sir Ambrose is said to have built the present manor-house on his wife's estate, about the year 1594. The parish register records the baptism of his daughter in 1596. There was, at the beginning of this century, a window at Matson House, containing the arms of Sir Peregrine Willoughby, who died, in 1601, at Spilsby, in Lincolnshire; and it is supposed that this glass was placed there by Sir Ambrose to show his connexion with the families of Eresby and Parham.[1] There was also in the attic of the N.W. Gable, on a pannel, a portrait of this knight, in plate armour, inlaid with gilt, in which he was represented as blind of one eye. I believe that it was given to George Augustus Selwyn, by the Duke of Beaufort. Sir Ambrose Willoughby's coat of arms was in the upper corner of the picture.[2]

In 1597 the house and manor were again sold, and passed into the possession of Jasper Selwyn, who had married the heiress of Thomas Robins.

The Selwyns of Gloucestershire are said to be an elder branch of the Selwyns who were settled at Friston, in Sussex, during the

[1] The quarterings are said to have been as follows :—1st. Sable, a cross, engrailed, or ; for Ufford.—2nd. Argent, 3 battering rams, fess-ways, proper ; for Bertie.—3rd. Or, fretty Azure; for Willoughby.—4th. Gules, a cross moline argent; for Beke —5. Quarterly 1st. & 4th. Azure, a lion rampant, or, 2nd & 3rd argent fretty sable; for Fitzallan.—6. Or, a lion rampant, sable ; for Maltravers —7. Gules, a fess dancette, between 6 crosses pattee, or ; for Engham.—8th. Barry of 6, ermine and gules, 3 crescents, sable ; for Welles.

Crest.—A Saracen's head, proper, between two wings, conjoined, fretty, and sable.

[2] Sir Ambrose Willoughby was J.P. for Gloucestershire in 1607.—Harl. MSS., 1041, fol. 16.

16th and 17th centuries, and to have come into this county about the time of Richard III.

The following account of the Sussex Selwyns, with some additional information, which I have obtained from the archæological collections of that county, is taken from a survey of Sussex which was made by Sir William Segar, in 1633. The name of John Selvans appears in Sussex records as early as 1299-1303.

About the middle of the 14th century John Selwyn married Katharine, daughter and heiress of Simon Sherrington, of Selmeston, co. Sussex, and had issue Nicholas Selwyn, who, by Alice, daughter and co-heiress of William Marshall, of Maresfield, co. Sussex, had issue Nicholas, son and heir. In 1412 Nicholas Selwyn appears amongst persons having land or rent of £20 a year, and is returned for lands in Southalle, Firle, Selmeston, and Northam, of the value of £23 6s. 8d. He died 4th April, 1416, and, as appears by an inquisition held at Lewes, 1st November, 1420, he held of John, son and heir of Philip St. Leger, Esq., by Knight's service, the manor of Southalle. William, his son, by Alice, his wife, was next heir, and was then aged 17 years and upwards. Amongst the depositions given, one Robert Profoot remembered that on the day of William Selwyn's birth (in about 1403) his servant had been taken prisoner by the French, at Selmeston, and carried to Harfleur.[1]

William Selwyn, by Ciceley, daughter of Ralph Reresby, had issue Thomas Selwyn, who married Agnes, daughter of Symon Bates.

It is probable that owing to some incident in the war between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, perhaps a confiscation of the Selmeston property by Edward IV., the eldest son of this

1 Inq. post. mort. 8 Hen. v. No. 13. "Willielmus Selwyne filius et heres Nicholai Selwyne defuncti, probatio ætatis ejus, &c., &c."

During the reign of Richard II., a force of French auxiliaries was sent to take part in the rebellion of Owen Glendower. This notice shows that the French penetrated farther inland than has been generally imagined.

Thomas Selwyn, who is said to have been called John, was driven from Sussex, and ultimately settled in Gloucestershire: whilst the younger son, Thomas Selwyn, married Margery, daughter and co-heiress of John Adam, of Crowhurst, co. Sussex, by Alice, daughter and heiress of John Potman, of Friston, and was enabled by this marriage to found a junior branch of the family at Friston, one of his wife's estates.

There is a brass in Friston Church with the figures of a man and woman in the dress of the 16th century, and the following inscription :—

"Of yor charit'e p'y for the soulles of Thomas Selwyn and Margery, his wiffe: which Thomas decessyd the xxbiij day of October, A°D'ni, MDXLIJ, on whose soulle J'hu have m'c'y.

Their descendants flourished at Friston until 1709, when the male line became extinct on the death of William Selwyn, within two months after the death of his father, Sir Edward Selwyn. The following inscription appears on his tomb :—

"In cujus memoriam flebit marmor ipsum flebilis omnibus quippe pro dolor quia sola spes fuit et nunc extincta antiquæ Selwynorum familiæ ultimus hic Selwynorum jacet."—(*See Pedigree No. II., p.* 277.)

There are distinct traces of the Selwyn family in Gloucestershire as early as the commencement of the 16th century, if not much earlier,[1] but I can find no authority for the statement which appears in several documents and county histories that they were descended from John Selwyn, who came hither in the time of Richard III., (1484-5).

In Abbot Parker's Chronicle I find that on the 20th day of June, in the seventh year of Henry VIII (1516) an indenture

[1] Fosbrooke says that Reginald de Redberewe, who lived at Nibley, in the 13th century, married Mabel, daughter of Robert Selwin, of Hill. Hist. Glou. vol. I, p. 363.

was made between Thomas Parker, Humphry Parker and Richard Pennell of the one part, and William Selwyn, Elizabeth his wife, and Richard, Alice, Agnes and John, his children, of the other part, whereby the former conceded to the latter the lease of certain lands at King's Stanley belonging to the Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester, and formerly held by Walter Kinge de Over.[1] Now it is more than probable that John Selwyn, of Richard the Third's time was the father of this William Selwyn, and also of Richard Selwyn, *alias* Frampton, who was the last Abbot of Malmesbury, and surrendered the Abbey to Henry VIII., in 1539, receiving a pension of 200 marks.[2] The names of William Selwyn's sons, Richard and John, go some way towards increasing the probability. A second indenture was made between Abbot Parker (of Malvern) and Richard Selwyn, on the 29th September, 1537, whereby a lease was granted to the latter of the manor of Stanley St. Leonard, for 70 years, for Richard Selwyn's own life, for those of his sons', William, Walter, and Thomas, and of his daughters', Joan, Isabel, Anne, and Alice, at the yearly rent of 26s. 8d.; and it is stated therein that the manor was formerly held by William Selwyn, the father of the lessee. These two indentures, which are not mentioned in any pedigrees of the Selwyn family afford us a very fair basis for building up the fabric of their history.

The first lessee, William Selwyn, I have reason to believe, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Twysell,[3] son of John Twysell, and grandson of Hugh Twysell, who held an estate at King's Stanley, consisting of 24 acres of arable and 2 acres of pasture land, in 1384, 1454, 1472, respectively. His son, Richard Selwyn, married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of William Harmer, of King's Stanley, who died in 1555, and whose will was proved at Worcester. Richard Selwyn died in 1579, and was buried at Leonard Stanley; his widow died in

[1]Abbot Parker's Chronicle, MSS., Cathedral Library, Glou., fol. 29.

[2]Burnett's History of the Reformation, vol I.

[3]Continuation of Bigland's Collections.

1580, and the following inscription is said, according to a manuscript lent me by Admiral Jasper Selwyn, to have been visible sometime ago on a flat stone, laid across the path leading to the south door of Stanley Regis Church.

CASTA MATRONA
COMES VERTVTIS ET
ARTIS AMICA IRRVIT
IN CINERES ELIZA
BETHA LEVES HVI
VS ERAT TOTVM
STVDIUM PLACA
RE IEHOVAM ET LA
VDARE BONVM P
RO BONITATE DE
VM ILLA FERENS
MORTIS PER AC
ERBA VVLNERA
FLATV DIXIT IN E
XTREMO MORE
MIHI GRATA VENI
ELIZABETH SELW
IN DESESED THE
10 OF MARCH, 1580

Her burial is recorded in the register of that parish.[1]

William,[2] the eldest son of Richard and Elizabeth Selwyn,

[1]On the MSS. referred to I read "Sadler's Comps. to Dallaway, he has sent ye epitaph exactly as it appears on ye tomb." In the 4th line it reads ELIMA. With this exception I have copied it word for word. Mr. S. F. Sadler was Rector of Matson, 1801-1817.

The inscription does not appear in Bigland's Collection, or in any other work that I have seen.

[2]Thomas, brother of William Selwyn, lived at Leonard Stanley. Proceedings were taken in Chancery, temp. Elizabeth, by Auncell Sandford, against Thomas Selwyn and others, to restrain them from committing waste on the property of late belonging to the Priory of Leonard Stanley under a pretended title.—Vol. iii., 17, ss. 26.

married Catherine, daughter of John Clutterbuck, of Leonard Stanley, and had issue Richard, Jasper, and Joan. Richard, the eldest son, married Anne Lawrence of Cassey's Compton, probably one of the Lawrences of Whittington, and had issue William, Richard, John and three daughters. Jasper, as I have said, married Margaret Robins, and after the birth of two sons, William and Richard, at King's Stanley, removed to Matson House. He died in 1634, and was buried at Matson. His monument described him as "Counsellor at law and one of his majesty's Justices of Peace for the county of Gloucester."[1] From his will, which I have examined in the Gloucester Probate Court, it appears that he left his plate and other movables to his daughters Margaret, Sarah, and Dorothy, and certain fittings of the house, which he describes as "wainscott and glass," to his son William, stipulating that his widow, whom he makes his sole executrix, should have the use of them during her life-time. The will is a very short one, and more than half of it is a solemn declaration of his Christian faith. There is no mention of any entail of the estate on William Selwyn and on his heirs male; this, and the fact that he leaves his two younger sons, John and Thomas, to be provided for by their mother, leads me to think that the house and land belonging to Sir Ambrose Willoughby were purchased by Thomas Robins, and settled on his daughter's heirs. Margaret Selwyn survived her husband only two years. Their eldest son, William, married in 1621, Edith, daughter and sole heiress of Leonard Bennet, of Ebley, in the parish of Stonehouse, and took up his abode at his wife's paternal residence.[2] The baptism of six of their children is recorded in the Stonehouse register, and also the burial of Edith Selwyn, who died in 1632. I have reason to believe that after his mother's death, William Selwyn took up his abode at Matson. (*See Ped., Table II., page* 280.)

Richard, the second son of Jasper and Margaret Selwyn, married in 1622, Mary, daughter of John Rogers, of Parton Court,

[1] Harl. MSS., 1041, fol. 17.

[2] On the house at Ebley, belonging to George Augustus Selwyn, there were, in 1780, the following letters and dates:—
T.B. 1587 T.A. over the front door and WS 1697 over the garden door.

co. Gloucester, and some years later Anne, daughter of Thomas Lloyd, of Wheatenhurst, and widow of Richard Trotman, of Cam, attorney-at-law. There are flat stones in the Chancel of Wheatenhurst Church, in memory of Richard Selwyn, his son Jasper, and his grand-son, and great-grandson of the same name. It is to be hoped that when Wheatenhurst Church is restored, these stones will not share the fate of the Selwyn grave-stones, which were formerly at Matson. (*See Ped., Table III., page* 282).

It was during the time of William Selwyn that Charles I. resided for twenty-six days at Matson House. After the capture of Bristol by the Royalist troops, it was decided that Prince Rupert should go with one part of the army into the west, whilst the king with the other part should advance to Gloucester. Charles and his counsellors knew very well that a prolonged siege would give an immense advantage to the parliament, as it would give Essex time to recruit his scattered forces; but a private intimation from Massey, the governor of the city, led them to believe that as soon as the king appeared in person and demanded the surrender, the gates would be opened to him. The possession of Gloucester would give him complete control of the Severn, would enable him to withdraw his forces from Wales for other service, and would encourage such of the Gloucestershire gentry to espouse his cause as were now kept down by the garrison. Charles spent the night of Tuesday, the 8th of August, 1643, at Berkeley Castle, and appeared with his army on Thursday, the 10th, on the open land called Tredworth field, which lay between the city and Matson hill.[1] Soon after this the king's herald appeared at the city gates demanding its surrender. Two hours later Tobias Jordan, the bookseller, and sergeant-major Pudsey, lean in figure but stout in heart, arrived at the royalist head quarters with the citizen's reply, which was no more nor less than a defiance of the king's authority. The only course which seemed open now was an appeal to force.

In another hour or two the flames which arose from King's

[1] A plateau on the northern slopes of Matson hill is still called "the military ground" from this circumstance.

Barton showed that the citizens would shrink from no sacrifice in their determination to defend the city.

Charles proceeded to make his arrangements for the siege, and became the guest of Mr. William Selwyn at Matson house.[1]

George Augustus Selwyn, in an autograph memorandum which I have by me, says that William Selwyn was not of the royal party. His eldest son, William, had only lately married Margaret, the daughter of Edward Nourse,[2] a citizen of Gloucester, and he himself was at this time an invalid. The young pair (they were only seventeen years of age at the time of their marriage) were living with their father at Matson, when the king arrived, and it is said that Margaret retired to the house of Mr. Robins, which was close at hand. What became of the others I know not, but I can hardly think that they took any active part in the struggle.

With the exception of a short visit to Oxford, Charles remained at Matson till the appearance of Essex on the 5th of September, when the royal army slowly retired towards Painswick and Sudeley.

Matson House has been little altered since that time, and it is easy to picture the White King, as he was called on account of his virtuous character, seated in the old dining hall, with the young princes, Charles and James, or joining his courtiers in his favourite game of bowls on the level green. Here was Chillingworth, the divine, engaged in the most unclerical pursuit of making battering-rams to demolish the city walls.[3] Here also was

[1] In a letter from Robert, Lord Spencer, to his lady, Dorothy, daughter of Robert, Earl of Leicester, dated Matson, August 25th, 1643, he speaks of being with Chillingworth and Lord Falkland, at Sir Nicholas Selwin's place. This, of course, is a mistake. Sir Nicholas Selwin was a great-grandson of Thomas and Margery Selwyn, of Friston, but it is said that he was at Matson with Charles I.

[2] Edward Nourse does not appear to have taken any leading part in city politics. He was a member of the common council, and was recommended for a commission in the militia in 1657. He left money to the poor of S. Michael and S. Mary de Lode.

[3] These battering-rams were never used. They were found in the royal camp after the raising of the siege, and were the cause of much merriment to the citizens.

Falkland, amiable and learned, and liberal beyond his age, lamenting the internecine strife, which was devastating the land and hindering the spread of knowledge There are some marks on the window-sill of a room in the north-western gable, which tradition assigns to the swords of the young princes. Wraxall, in his memoirs, tells us that King James II. mentioned this feat to one of the Selwyns, amongst other recollections of Matson. The little church was used for storing ammunition, and Charles, probably, made use of a room, now called the chapel, for his daily devotions. The king's chamber and kitchen still retain their names. There are several letters extant which were written at this time from Matson House; one from the king begs the Marquis of Newcastle not to forget his 200 barrels of gunpowder. Tradition says that on the 5th of September, Charles and his sons rode sadly away down the lane, which leads by Snedham Green to Brookthorpe, then up across the fields to Sponebed Hill. It was whilst they were resting for a while at the ancient camp, called Kimsbury Castle,[1] or Castle Godwin,[2] that one of the young princes asked "When are we going home," and he answered "Alas, my child, we have now no home to go to."

To return to the Selwyns—William died in November, 1643, and was buried at Matson. His burial is recorded in the parish register, in letters of a huge size. He was succeeded by his son William, then about 19 years of age, who, with his wife, had plenty of domestic sorrows. A curious monument, one of the few that have escaped the hands of George Augustus Selwyn,[3] and later "*restorers*" tells us how three of their sons were carried off in early life by the same fatal disease—William, the eldest of these, was also commemorated by a flat stone in the chancel, which

[1]This was one of the castra exploratoria of the Romans. Four Roman coins that had been found there were at Matson House in 1780. Kimsbury (written Kynemaresbury) often appears in the Abbey records.

[2]Earl Godwin probably encamped here in 1051, when in arms against Edward the Confessor.

[3]It is strange that George Augustus Selwyn, who had such a passion for witnessing everything connected with death, should have been such a destroyer of monuments, and especially of those of his own family.

described him as the hope of his parents, and the ornament of his family, and related how he fell asleep, to the lasting grief of his fond parents, and his own eternal felicity, on the 15th of August, 1649. The second son was called Edward, and, but for his untimely fate, would have been his father's heir. Another monument told how, possessing every natural gift, save forbearance under wrongs, he was drawn into a deadly quarrel with some bosom friend at Gloucester, and killed on the 3rd of April, 1678, when only 23 years of age. Five years before his death he had married Joan Browning, of Coaley, near Dursley, but he left no heirs. The disconsolate widow thus deplores her loss in Latin verse :—

"Sub tumulo jacet hoc funestâ cœde peremptus
Quem socii rapuit sanguinolenta manus.
Heu pietas, heu prisca fides, sic jungere dextras
Sic solere et sanctæ nomen amicitiæ!
At tu qui lector fidum tibi quœris amicum,
Doctus ab exemplis ne sociere malo.

I learn from Sir William Guise that one of his ancestors, Sir John Guise, who represented the county in the Convention Parliament of William III., is said to have slain a gentleman in a duel on College Green about this time; it is possible that the two events may have been one and the same. Joan Selwyn afterwards married Joseph Knight, and on the death of her father-in-law resided with Knight at Matson.[1]

William Selwyn, the father of Edward Selwyn, was an alderman of Gloucester, and mayor in 1675; he was also justice of the peace for the county and city. Amongst the officers of the militia, approved of by the council of state on April 5, 1660, appear, for a regiment of foot, in the city of Gloucester, Thomas Jordan, colonel, and William Selwyn, lieutenant-colonel. Soon after the expiration of the year of his mayoralty he was seized with a stroke of paralysis, and died in a sudden paroxysm of pain

[1] So the last visitation, which gives an incomplete pedigree of the Selwyns. Probably Joseph Knight and his wife knew very little of the Selwyns of former generations.

on the 8th of May, 1679. His widow, Margaret Selwyn, lived to the age of 91, and died in 1715, having seen sixty of her posterity.

The will of William Selwyn was proved at London, 20th June, 1679. He left his manor of Pulton, co. Wilts, his manor of Leckhampton, and certain lands and mills at Ebley, to his five daughters, Mary, Sophia, Beata, Anne, and Margaret, "to be held in common, and not in joint, tenancy." His widow was to have all the household goods, and certain legacies were to be paid to his daughters; all the rest went to his only son and heir, William Selwyn, at that time 29 years of age.[1] His daughter Beata was married to William Johnson, of Bowden Park, co. Wilts, and of Barnwood, in this county. There were two children by this marriage—William, who, by Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Edwards, had three daughters, and Elizabeth, who married Manasseh Whitehead. There is a monument to William Johnson, and Beata, his wife, in Barnwood Church. Another daughter, Margaret, married Samuel Browning, of Coaley, who died at the age of 27, and was buried in Gloucester Cathedral, with three of his children. A third daughter, Sophia, was married in 1689, to Thomas Gwylliam, and in 1725 to Edward Bocham.

William Selwyn, the heir, was an officer in the army of Charles the second. In 1683, on the day that Lord Russell was brought to the scaffold in Lincoln's Inn Fields, for his alleged participation in the Rye House Plot, and the crowd were dipping their handkerchiefs in his blood, as in that of a martyr, William Selwyn was an officer on guard. On the death of Charles the Second he transferred his allegiance to James; but his conduct on the landing of William of Orange showed that he loved his country better than his king. On the 25th of November, 1688, when the princess Anne fled from St. James' palace, and deserted her royal father in the depth of his misfortunes, William Selwyn was one of the escort that conducted her and her friend, Sarah Churchill, to a mansion of Lord Dorset, in Epping Forest. It must have been a strange cavalcade, as they rode away in the darkness of

[1] Prerogative Court of Cant., 2 King, 369, fol. 55, C.P.R.

night; Compton, Bishop of London, who, twenty-eight years before, had been an officer in the Life Guards, rode in front of the princess's carriage, dressed in a buff coat and jack boots, with a sword by his side, and pistols in his holster. But William Selwyn was destined to serve under greater generals than even a bishop of London! I find him in 1695, with William the Third, at the siege of Namur, where he must have witnessed what none had witnessed before—a French Marshal delivering up a fortress to a victorious enemy. It was, no doubt, the immense loss of English officers at Namur, that hastened Selwyn's promotion. He was made colonel of the 2nd regiment in 1691, and of the 22nd regiment in 1701[1] The same year, being then governor of Tilbury Fort, he was appointed to the governor-ship of Jamaica, with the rank of lieutenant-general. He died at his post in 1702, and his body was brought to England and buried at Matson. He married, in 1681, Albinia, sister and co-heiress of Sir Edward Bettenson, of Scadbury Park, co. Kent. She was a great-grand-daughter of Edward Cecil, Lord Viscount Wimbledon, who was a grandson of Lord Treasurer Burleigh. Albinia, daughter of Lord Wimbledon, by his wife Theodosia, daughter of Sir Andrew Nöel, married Sir Christopher Wray, and their daughter, Albinia, married Richard Bettenson, son of Sir Richard Bettenson, and had issue—Sir Edward, who succeeded to his grandfather's estates, Albinia, wife of William Selwyn, Theodosia, wife of General Farington, Frances, wife of Sir Thomas Hewett, of Shire Oaks, co. Nottingham, and Dorothy, who died in France. The name of "Albinia" is especially prized in the Selwyn family. It is said that Lord Wimbledon gave this name to his daughter in compliment to an Italian lady who bore it.

The four sisters of Sir Edward Bettenson were well known and much admired at the French and English Courts. Louis XIV. thought that Dorothy Bettenson was very much like his favourite, Madame de la Vallière; and George II. said of

[1] Much of the above information concerning General Selwyn is taken from a MS. of the Rev. Charles Jasper Selwyn, kindly lent me by Admiral Jasper Selwyn and other members of the family.

Lady Hewett, that she would look like a gentlewoman when she was in her coffin. As for Albinia Selwyn, her grandson, George Augustus, applied to her some words of Prior—that "She had so much the love of justice, and was so exact in the performance of all the duties of life, that it would be thought she had never seen a court, but at the same time was so well bred, that she appeared as if she had never lived out of one."

Whether General Selwyn could find time to visit Matson, I know not. His sister-in-law, Johanna Knight, was living there with her second husband, and his mother resided in Gloucester with her two unmarried daughters. The initials W.S., and the date 1697, over the garden door at Ebley, lead one to think that he must have brought his wife down to see the old home before they set sail for Jamaica. He was member of parliament for the city of Gloucester, in the second parliament of William the third, and was elected for the second time in 1701, during his absence from England. They had three sons and three daughters—John was born at Scadbury Park, on the 20th of August, 1688; Charles, in 1689; and Henry, in 1690; Albinia, the eldest daughter, married, in 1701, Major John Hanbury, of Pontypool, and died in 1702; Frances married Thomas Hayward, Esq., of Quedgley, and was an ancestress of the present Capt. Hayward; Margaret died unmarried. On returning from Jamaica, Albinia, now a widow, took up her residence, first at Carshalton, and then at Matson, where she resided until within a few days of her death, in 1737.[1]

She found the church almost in ruins, and the rectory-house empty, so she engaged Mr. Samson Harris, rector of Stonehouse, as her domestic chaplain, and commenced the re-building of Matson church.[2]

[1] A ship, containing part of Mrs. Selwyn's goods, was lost on the voyage from Jamaica.

[2] The inscription over the porch says "This church was re-built at the sole expense of Albinia Selwyn, relict of his excellency Major-general Selwyn, A.D. 1739." Albinia's sister, Lady Hewett, says, in a letter dated January 22, 1738, "I heard some time since that she had left money in somebody's hands to re-build the little church at Matson, that seemed in some danger of falling when I was there."

The style of architecture in fashion when Albinia lived and built is not beautiful; but the day may come when even "Churchwarden's Gothic" may not be so despised. It was the age, and not her piety, that was at fault; and the present little square nave, with its round wooden windows and flat ceiling, helps us to picture the times in which she lived if it does nothing else.

There were portraits of Lord Wimbledon, General Selwyn, his wife, and her two sisters, at Matson, some ninety years ago. Albinia's portrait seems to have been taken when she was about 30 years of age; it was painted, so it is said, by Dahl, at the request and expense of Samson Harris.[1] There are copies of these and other Selwyn pictures at Quedgley House.

Albinia planted most of the trees that surround Matson House. The grand old Scotch firs were a gift of hers that we can at least feel grateful for.

With the restlessness of approaching death, she insisted, in 1737, on paying her chaplain a visit at Stonehouse, and died there, 29th December, aged about 80 years. Her eldest son, John Selwyn, had succeeded to the family estates on the death of his father, but he does not seem to have resided at Matson. On Albinia's death the house was let to a farmer called Harris, who occupied it till 1751.

John, generally known as Colonel, Selwyn served under the celebrated Duke of Marlborough in the wars against France. He married in early life his cousin Mary, daughter of General Farington and Theodosia, his wife. They were people of considerable note about court, and their monument in Matson Church bears witness to the esteem in which they were held by George II., and Queen Caroline. Colonel Selwyn was mayor of Gloucester in 1727 and 1733, and represented the city in parliament from 1727 till 1751, but he could not have seen much of his constituents, as he always resided at Cleveland Court, in London. Charles, the second

[1] Michael Dahl was born at Stockholm, in 1656, and resided in England from 1688 to 1743. He was patronized Queen Anne and her husband Prince George of Denmark.

son of General Selwyn, was major in the army, mayor of Gloucester in 1736, and member of parliament for the borough of Luggershall, co. Wilts, where the Selwyns had a large estate. He married first, Mary Cook, relict of a Mr. Houblon, and secondly Anna Maria, daughter of Thomas Hyde, a kinswoman of Lord Clarendon, and relict of John Geddes, Esq. He lived at Richmond, and, dying on the 9th June, 1749, in the 61st year of his age was buried at Hampton Court Church. The following epitaph was composed by his nephew, Charles Jasper Selwyn, for a costly monument erected by his widow.

Who e'er thou art whom conscious virtue warms,
Whose glowing bosom feels her native charms,
Awhile indulge thy meditation here,
Nor blush to pay the tribute of a tear.
While youth permitted, in the tented field
His active valour taught the foes to yield;
When age approached, and from the embattled plain
Called him reluctant to a milder scene,
In Britain's senate, oft was heard his voice,
Pleading with earnest zeal his country's cause.
His days thus spent, when virtue's task was o'er,
And this gay trifle, life, could please no more,
Firm, and resigned to die, his peaceful breast
Heard the glad call, and sunk into eternal rest.

C.J.S.

The third son of General Selwyn was Henry, who was Captain in a Dragoon Regiment, and some time Receiver of Customs. He was educated at the Gloucester College School, as shown by the following inscription on some minerals, which were in the College School library: "Hæc mineralia è fodinis Hanoveriensibus propriâ eruta manu D. Hen Selwyn, Schol: Reg: Glocest. olim discipulus, in archivis ibidem dedit reponenda, 1711." He married Ruth, daughter of Anthony Compton, of Gainslaw, Berwick-on-Tweed, and dying at the early age of forty-five, was buried at Matson. His widow and children lived at Prince's Gate, in London, until the death of Mrs. Charles Selwyn, when they removed to Richmond. His eldest son, Charles Jasper, married Elizabeth Coxeter, of Bampton, and had issue, Henry Charles, Lieutenant-governor of Montserrat, who died in 1807, and was

buried at Matson. His son, the Rev. Townshend Selwyn, was Canon of Gloucester, and resided for awhile in one of the houses on the north side of the Cathedral. To this day there may be seen a fountain which he built with his own hands, and the following inscription which he carved in a little grotto.

CARMEN FONTINALE.

O Nympha, avitis quæ evagata collibus,
Arethuseis ambagibus,
Urbem expetisti atque hec vetusta mœnia,
Cellam Cathedralem meam.

Quis te novus coegit Alphœus fugâ,
Aut quid timentem linquere,
Robertiana rura, sylvestrem tuæ
Matris domum, Matsoniæ ?

Non fortuitus hospes incidis mihi
Non serva tu domestica,
Te cognitam Sabrina cognatamque habet
Rivoque pleno amplectitur.

Te Nympha amavi casta juvenis admodum
Te jam senescens diligo,
Ludo insolenti vitreas spargentem aquas
Te sero amore prosequar.

At per locorum si qua sanctitas manet
Numenque te obtestor tuum,
Polluta ne sis virginum purissima
Glocestrianis sordibus.

Sic tu, caput coronâ arundinaceâ
Aquaticisque floribus
Velata custos fontium et regina eris
Me scilicet superstite.

T.S.—MDCCCXLIII.

Canon Townshend Selwyn died in 1853, leaving, by Charlotte Sophia Murray, his wife, several sons and daughters. The eldest surviving son is Admiral Frederick Leopold Augustus, who is thus the representative of the Matson Selwyns. (*See Ped., Table IV., page* 283.)

The second son of Henry Selwyn was William, a distinguished barrister, who, by Frances, dau. of John Dod, had two sons and three daughters. The eldest son, William, followed his father's profession. He was so eminent a writer on Nisi Prius law that he was selected to instruct the late Prince Consort in the Constitu-

tional history of this country. He married Letitia Frances, daughter of Thomas Kynaston, and had issue—William, late Canon of Ely, and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity; George Augustus, the well-known Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield; and Charles Jasper, late a Lord Justice of Appeal. A son of the Bishop of Lichfield is at the present time Missionary Bishop of Melanesia. (*See Ped., Table V., page* 284.)

We must now return to Colonel Selwyn and his descendants. John, his eldest son, was an early friend of Horace Walpole and Marshal Conway. The former writing of him says "He deserves so much love from all who know him." He was member of parliament for Whitchurch, co. Hants. He died in 1751, at the age of 42, and his monument at Matson says that his virtues were the comfort of his parents, and that his death shortened the life of his father. His will was proved at London in 1752.

Albinia, the only daughter of Colonel Selwyn, in 1730, at the early age of sixteen, married the Honourable Thomas Townshend, third son of Charles, 2nd Viscount Townshend. There was a picture at Matson House, in George Augustus Selwyn's time, containing portraits of John Selwyn and his sister Albinia, when they were children. That of John Selwyn was stiff and formal, in the dress of the period, but that of Albinia was extremely easy and pleasing. George Selwyn thought them to be the work of Van Loo, but it is doubtful whether that painter came to England before 1737.[1] Albinia Townshend died in 1739, when only 24 years of age, and was buried at Matson.

Her husband's grandfather, Sir Horatio Townshend,[2] was descended from a noble Norman, named Ludovic, who settled in England in the time of Henry I.[3] He distinguished himself at the time of the Restoration, and was rewarded for his loyalty with a Barony in 1661. He was created Viscount Townshend, of Raynham, co. Norfolk, in 1682. His son Charles, the second Viscount,

[1] Rev. Charles Jasper Selwyn's Notes.

[2] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.—Vol. II., p. 665, 666, 8vo.

[3] Collins' Peerage, vol. IV., p. 359, London, 1756.

was a great politician during the reigns of George I. and George II.; and was a rival of Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Orford, whose sister he married as his second wife. He appears to have been outshone by his great contemporary, and to have retired into private life some years before his death, taking with him a character of spotless integrity—a character rare indeed in those days of wholesale bribery. His son, the Honourable Thomas Townshend, was a Teller of the Exchequer, and one of the best scholars of the day; he represented Cambridge for six successive parliaments, and died at a good old age in 1780.

He had three sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Thomas Townshend, distinguished himself as a statesman. In July, 1765, he was made Lord of the Treasury, and, subsequently, Secretary at War. In 1782 he became one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and held this post till 1789. He was created Baron Sydney of Chislehurst, county Kent, in 1783, and Viscount Townshend in 1789. He died suddenly, in 1800, at the age of 67. He had issue, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Richard Powys, John Thomas, who succeeded to the title, and Frances, who married George Talbot, third Baron Dynevor, and was the mother of the Honourable Misses Rice, the present occupants of Matson House. John Thomas, the second Viscount, married first Sophia Southwell, daughter of Lord de Clifford, by whom he had two daughters; and, secondly, Caroline Letitia, daughter of Robert, Earl of Leitrim, by whom he had one son, the present Earl Sydney, who is the proprietor of Matson, and other Selwyn estates. (*See Ped., Table II., page* 281.)

We now come to the last of the Selwyns, closely connected with Matson, and perhaps the best known of them all, the witty and eccentric George Augustus, second son of Colonel Selwyn. He was born on the 11th of August, 1719, and was at Eton with Horace Walpole, the poet Gray, and many other distinguished characters of the 18th century. On leaving Eton, he entered Hertford College, Oxford, and after a short residence, proceeded to make the tour of Europe. His university career was by no means

a success—in fact, far otherwise, He was "sent down" in 1744 for practising some joke which the authorities, with good reason, looked upon as sheer blasphemy. Some years ago a series of letters and brief memoirs were published by Heneage Jesse, with the title of "George Augustus Selwyn and his contemporaries;" I have reason to believe that these letters were carelessly left by George Selwyn in the cupboard of a government office, and found many years afterwards by Mr. Jesse. They, certainly, were never intended for publication, but they are nevertheless full of interest to the student of English political and social history of the 18th century. George Selwyn's character was a strange mixture of opposite qualites. He included amongst his closest friends such excellent men as Lord Carlisle, the uncle of Byron, and such roués as Gilly Williams and the Duke of Queensbury. He was remarkable for brilliancy of conversation and ready wit. He loved anything that was horrible—an execution was his delight; but he loved the society of little children even more, and there are passages of the tenderest solicitude in his letters for the health and happiness of his little friends. On the death of Colonel Selwyn, in 1751, George Augustus succeeded to most of the Selwyn estates. Col. Selwyn had represented the city of Gloucester in parliament from 1727 till the year of his death, and George Augustus was invited to succeed him.

The possession of the springs on Matson Hill gave the Selwyns great power over the city, and they used it to their own advantage.

I find frequent mention in Jesse's book of a certain alderman, Gabriel Harris, who seems to have been a pet of George Selwyn and his friends, and not infrequently the butt of their ridicule. He was the brother of Samson Harris, rector of Stonehouse, and sometime private chaplain of Albinia Selwyn. It would seem from one of his letters that it was the custom of the Gloucester corporation to send, at stated times, a present of a Lamprey pie to the Prince of Wales, and George Augustus Selwyn is begged, in 1752, to present it to his Royal Highness, as his father had done. George Selwyn conceived a great love for the old family seat at Matson

and oftentimes stayed there with Horace Walpole for his guest. He was elected member for Gloucester, in 1754, and retained his seat until 1780, when he was compelled to retire in consequence of the unpopularity which he acquired by his advocacy of the American war; from that time until his death he sat for Luggershall, his own close borough.

It seems that in 1766 George Selwyn bought the lease, or freehold of the Robins' estate at Matson, and proceeded to take down the old family mansion of the Robinses, which stood near the centre of the present avenue. The stones were used to raise the roadway and bank up the pond near the lodge. To the avenue of planes, tulip trees, and larches, which he planted on the site of the Robins's garden, he gave the name of "Via Carolina," in honour of Lord Carlisle's daughter, the late Lady Cawdor. At the higher end of this avenue there was, originally, an old fashioned doorway, with heavy folding gates, thickly studded with nails, which opened into a courtyard, and was the principal entrance to Matson House. George Selwyn improved the house in 1797, by building new stables, on the front of which were carved the arms of Selwyn, impaling, successively, Bennet, Nourse, Bettenson, and Farington.[1]

He certainly had a taste for the fine arts, and was an archæologist. His cottage, as he called it, at Matson, was crowded with pictures, sculpture, and curiosities. Horace Walpole, in a letter to Richard Bently, dated 1753, says that he saw at Matson the "flower pot," and "counterfeit association," for which Bishop Spratt and the Duke of Marlborough were sent to the Tower.[2]

[1] SELWYN ARMS, Argent, on a bend cottised sable, 3 annulets or, within a bordure gules

ROBINS	Per pale, argent and sable, 2 flaunces, and 3 fleurs de lis counter-changed.
BENNET	Gules, a bezant, between 2 demi lions rampant, argent.
NOURSE	Gules, a fess between 2 chevonelles, or.
BETTENSON	Gules, a fess within a bordure, argent.
FARINGTON	Ermine, a chevron gules, between 3 leopard's faces, sable.
TOWNSHEND	Azure, a chevron, ermine, between 3 escallop shells, argent.

[2] Smollett's History of England, vol. I., p. 165.

In a long gallery, which originally occupied the whole length of the house, on the 2nd floor, there was a marble bust of King Charles I. by Roubilliac on a pedestal of rosewood, with an inscription.

Only one family picture now remains in the house, a portrait of Mary Farington, wife of Colonel Selwyn. On George Augustus Selwyn's death, in 1791, everything of value—plate, jewels, and pictures—were claimed by his adopted daughter, Maria Fagniani, afterwards Countess of Hertford. Even the church plate (a very handsome silver gilt chalice and patten of Spanish workmanship) which George Selwyn had given to Matson church, was carried off; but this, fortunately, was recovered, and is still in use.[1]

The Selwyn estates reverted to Thomas Townshend, but all that was not entailed passed away from the family to Maria Fagniani and the Duke of Queensbury. The following verses appeared soon after the death of George Augustus.

> If this gay favourite lost, they yet can live,
> A tear to Selwyn let the graces give!
> With rapid kindness teach oblivion's pall
> O'er the sunk foibles of the man to fall;
> And fondly dictate to a faithful muse
> The prime distinction of the friend they lose.
> 'Twas social wit, which, never kindling strife
> Blazed in the small, sweet courtesies of life;
> Those little sapphires round the diamond shone,
> Lending soft radiance to the richer stone." [2]

He was buried in Matson church, where there is a monument to his memory.

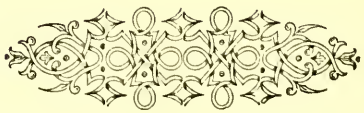
There have been many occupants of Matson House since the death of George A. Selwyn—amongst whom I may mention William Fendall, Town Clerk of Gloucester; Robert Bransley Cooper, elected member of parliament for Gloucester in 1818; Mr. Maddy, Mrs. Niblett, and Mr. Walker.

[1] The chalice has the following inscription: "Taken out of a Church at the Havanna by the Earl of Albermarle, and given to George Augustus Selwyn, by whom it was given to the Church of Matson."

[2] Jesse's G. A. Selwyn, vol. I., p 31.

When the present has become the province of history, it will be told how 140 years after Albinia Selwyn's death, some of her descendants dwelt in the old manor house, and more than rivalled her in benefactions to the church, and in every kind of good and noble work.

I would record my thanks to the Earl Sydney, H. Samuel Gael, Esq., and J. H. Hooper, Esq., for the information they have given me; to Admiral Jasper Selwyn, Miss Selwyn, and the Rev. E. J. Selwyn for the loan of valuable family documents; and to H. M. Jenner, Esq., for his kindness in allowing me to search the wills in the Probate Court at Gloucester.



THE DE MATTESDONS.—*PEDIGREE No. I.*

Ralph de Mattesdon (*a*)
Ernulph de Mattesdon (*b*)
Philip de Mattesdon, liv. 1159 (*c*) ⋮ (*d*) Ralph de Mattesdon
Geoffry de Mattesdon (*e*)
Thomas de Mattesdon (*f*)
Symon de Mattesdon = Alice (*g*) (*h*)
Philip de Mattesdon (*k*) = Isabella. alive, 1327. (*l*) — John de Capelluze Rector of Matson, 1288 (*m*)
Philip de Mattesdon (*n*) ⋮
William de Mattesdon (8) = Matilda, dau. of John Daubeney (8) (*see next page.*)
William de Mattesdon (8) — Christiana
Nicholas de Mattesdon (13) ob. 1435 = Margaret, dau. and co-h. of Thō Berkeley, of Cubberley (20)
Robert de Mattesdon ob. 1457, s p. (18) (28)

AUTHORITIES.[1]

(*a*) Hist. et Cart., S. Peter's, Glou. Master of Rolls series, I., 100

(*b*) ,, I., 63, 205. II., 259

(*c*) ,, I., 180

(*d*) ,, I., 180

(*e*) Abbot Froucester's Register, Gloucester Cathedral Library MSS., A 709

(*f*) ,, 710

(*g*) ,, 710, and Hist. et Cart., II., 258

(*h*) Abbot Froucester's Register, 721, 724, and Hist. et Cart., II., 258

(*k*) Abbot Froucester's Register, 717, 720, and Hist. et Cart. III., 150

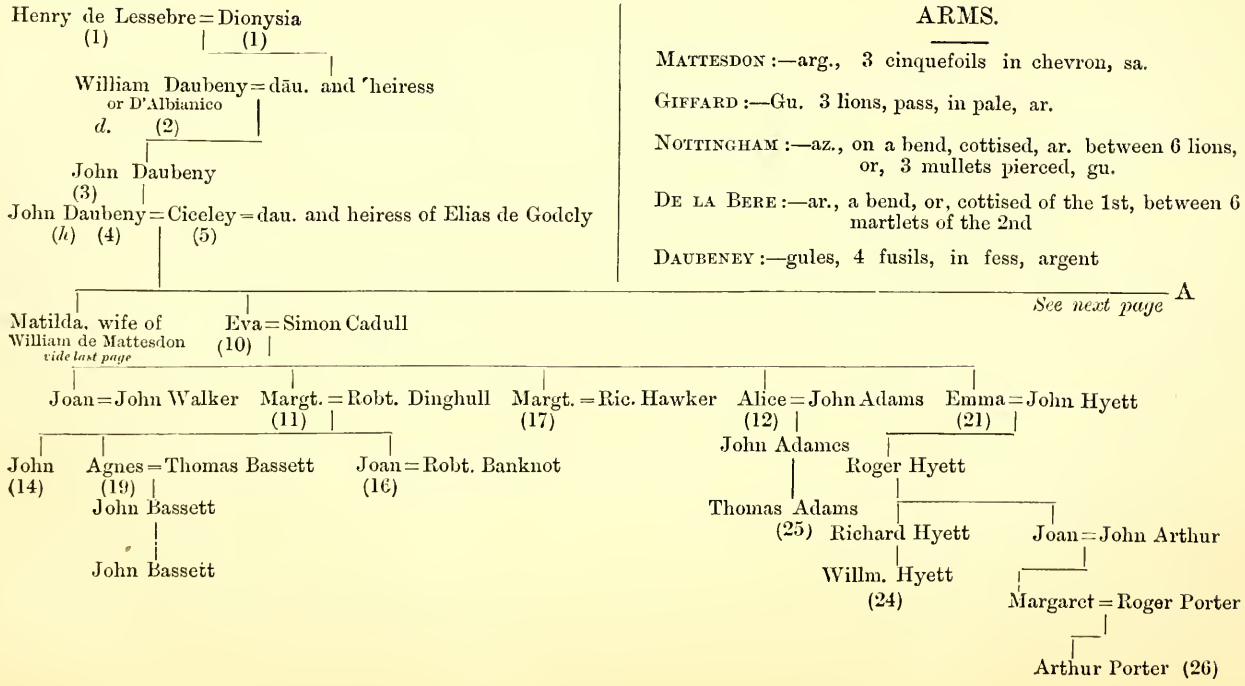
(*l*) Abbot Froucester's Register, 722, and Subsidy, I Ed. iii.

(*m*) Abbot Froucester's Register, 715, 716, and Lanthony Reg., Thirlstane House

(*n*) Hist. et Cart., II., 286. III., 150

1 The *Italics* refer to the Authorities on this page and the *Numerals* to those on page 276.

DESCENDANTS OF WILLIAM DAUBENEY.



ARMS.

MATTESDON :—arg., 3 cinquefoils in chevron, sa.

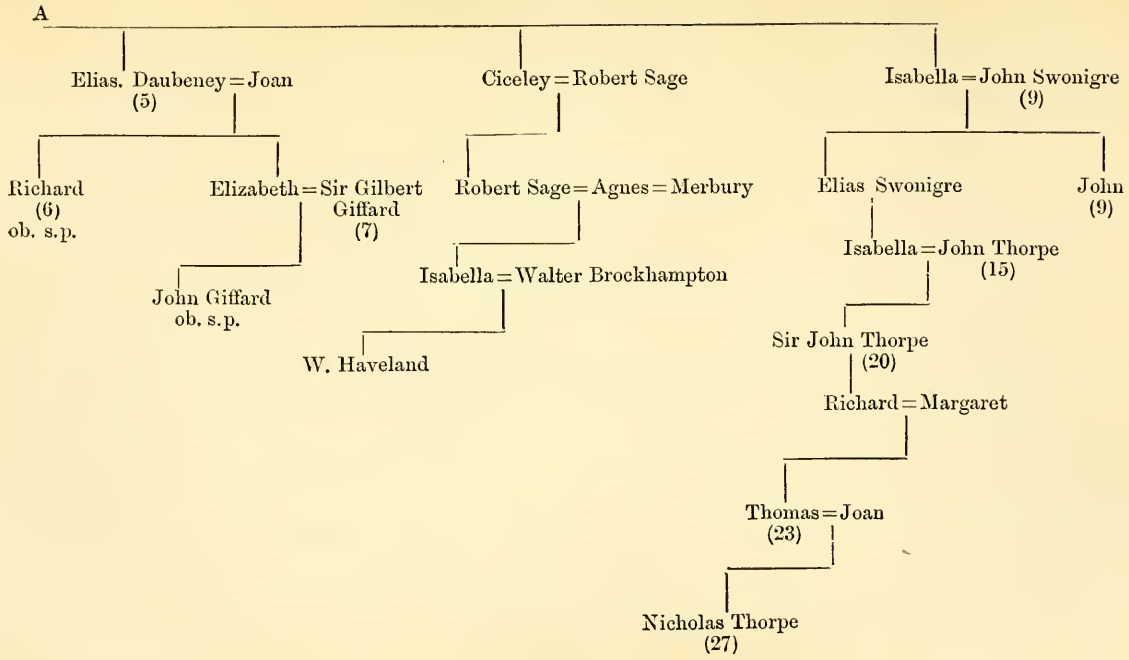
GIFFARD :—Gu. 3 lions, pass, in pale, ar.

NOTTINGHAM :—az., on a bend, cottised, ar. between 6 lions, or, 3 mullets pierced, gu.

DE LA BERE :—ar., a bend, or, cottised of the 1st, between 6 martlets of the 2nd

DAUBENEY :—gules, 4 fusils, in fess, argent

See last page



AUTHORITIES.

1 Hist. et Cart., III., 67, 69, 73, 76 Henry & Dionysia Lasse-[bere

2 Inq. post mort., Inc. temp, Hen. III., No. 27 Will'us. de Albanico

3 ,, ,, ,, 32 Ed. I., No. 52 Joh'es. Daubeney

4 ,, ,, ,, 6 Ed. III., No. 3a Joh'es. de Albaniaco

5 ,, ,, ,, 19 Ed. III., No. 27 Cecilia uxor Joh'es. Dau-[beney

6 ,, ,, ,, 38 Ed. III., No. 12 Ric'us fil. Elie Daubeney

7 Inq. ad quod dam. 47 Ed. III. No. 46 Gilbert Gyfford

8 Inq. post mort. 16 Ric. II., pars 16 Joh'es fil. et her. Eliz. [Daubeney

9 ,, ,, ,, 22 Ric. II. No. 44 Joh'es Swonigre

10 ,, ,, ,, 1 Hen. V., No. 17 Eva uxor S. Cadull

11 ,, ,, ,, 6 Hen. VI., No. 6 Marg' Dynghull

12 ,, ,, ,, 13 Hen. VI., No. 8 Alicia Adames

13 ,, ,, ,, 14 Hen. VI., No. 25 Nich'us Mattesdon, [Armiger

14 ,, ,, ,, 15 Hen. VI., No. 14 Joh'es Dynghull

15 Inq. post mort., 19 Hen. VI., No. 4 Joh'es Thorpe

16 ,, ,, ,, 30 Hen. VI., No. 2 Johanna uxor Rob'i [Banknott def'i

17 ,, ,, ,, 31 Hen. VI., No. 10 Margareta uxor Ric'i [Hauker

18 ,, ,, ,, 36 Hen. VI., No. 23 Rob'us Mattesdon

19 ,, ,, ,, 6 Ed. IV., No. 10 Agnes Basset

20 ,, ,, ,, 9 Ed. IV., No. 13 Joh'es Thorp

21 ,, ,, ,, 13 Ed. IV., No. 14 Emma Hyet

22 ,, ,, ,, 6 Hen. VIII Ric'us Thorpe

23 Trin. Fin., 7 Hen. VIII Thomas Thorpe

24 ,, ,, 13 Hen. VIII Will'us Hyett

25 Pas. Fin., 14 Hen. VIII Thomas Adams

26 Hil. Fin. 20 Hen. VIII. Arthur Porter

27 Mic. Fin., 6 Eliz. Nicholas Thorpe

28 Inq. post mort., 6 Hen. IV., No. 5 Thomas Berkeley [de Cubberley

PEDIGREE OF THE SUSSEX SELWYNS.—*PEDIGREE No. II.*

John Selwyn = Katharine, dau. and heir of Simon Sherrington, of Selmeston, Co. Sussex

Nicholas Selwyn = Alice, dau. and heir of William Marshall, of Maresfield, co. Sussex
Held lands at Selmeston, &c.

Nicholas Selwyn = Alice, dau. of — Lawrence : mentioned in Inquisition held at Lewes, 1420
Held lands at Selmeston in 1411 ; died 4 April, 1416

William Selwyn = Cecilia, dau. of Ralph Reresby
Born 24 August, 1403.
Inq. post mort. 3 Hen. vi., No 51

Thomas Selwyn = Agnes, dau. and heir of Simon Bates

Thomas Selwyn = Margery, dau. and heir of John Adam, of Crowhurst, by Alice, dau. and heir of John Potman, of Friston, co. Sussex.
died at Friston, 1542

John Selwyn = Beatrix, dau. of Thos. May
Inq. post mort., 37 Eliz., No. 80

Thomas Selwyn = Eliz, dau. of Sir Henry Goring, of Burton
eldest son, d. 1612
Inq. post mort., 20 Jac, 1. Pars. 1, No. 236

Edward Selwyn = Alice, dau. of John Burton, of Southbourne, Sussex

John s.p.
Humphry s.p.
John s.p.

Margery =
Alice =
Margery =
Beatrix =

Mary = Thos. Woodward
Eliz. = Thos. Parker
Alice = John Woodward

Dorothy =
Anne =
Beatrix =

Anthony

Francis Selwyn = Penelope, dau. of Sir J. Shirley, of Iswell House, Co. Sussex

Sir Nich. Selwyn, of hon'ble band of pensioners of King Charles I. See his will in the Prerogative Court

Alice = Godfrey Richards
Charity s.p.
Elizabeth s.p.

Geo. Selwyn, eldst son s.p.
buried at Friston 1670

Judith = — Medlicote
Mary
Penelope = G. Robinson

Sir Edward Selwyn, b. 1638 = Mary, wid. of Ed. Garrett, & dau of Sir Rob. Smith
died 1703, M.P. for Seaford, co. Sussex, & High Sheriff for Sussex, 1682s

William Selwyn, died at Friston, 1704, under 21 years of age and s.p.

PEDIGREE No. III.

SELWYNS OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—*TABLE I.*

SENIOR BRANCH :—The King's Stanley, and Horsemarley Branches.

ARMS:—LANE :—per pale, az. and gu. 3 saltires, or. PATE :—ar. a chev. sa. between 3 pellets, on a chief of the 2nd, as many crosses-crosslet fitchée, of the 1st. LIGON :—ar. 2 lions pass., in pale, gu. WILLOUGHBY :—or, fretty az.

AUTHORITIES ;—(1) King's Stanley Register (2) Leonard Stanley Register (3) Bigland's Collections (4) Matson Register (5) Stonehouse Register (6) Wills in Gloucester Registry (7) Abbot Parker's Chronicle, Glou. Cathedral.

That part of the pedigree which is printed in italics, is taken from the Herald's Visitation of 1682.

John Selwyn said to have come in the time of from Sussex Richard iii. 1484-5

Richard Selwyn of Frampton last Abbot of Malmesbury. See his seal in the Court of Augmentations.

William Selwyn (7) of Leonard Stanley, lessee of Abbey land. ment'd. in Abb. Parker's Reg. = Elizabeth, dau. of John Twysell of King's Stanley, who was son of John, and grandson of Hugh Twysell. (?) (5)

Alice mentioned with Agnes, Richard, and John, in Indenture, 1516 (7)

Agnes will proved at Gloucester, 1535, bur'd at Leonard 1588 (7) Stanley, 1579 (7) (2)

Richard Selwyn lessee of Abbey land, = Elizabeth, dau. of Wm. Harmer by his wife, dau. of Sir Walt. Scrope, Kt., *(Bigland's Pedigree)* buried at King's Stanley, 6 March, 1780. W. Harmer's will was proved at Wor'ster, 1555

John (7)

Walter Selwyn will proved at Glo'ster 1586 (7) = Joan named in W. S.'s will

A

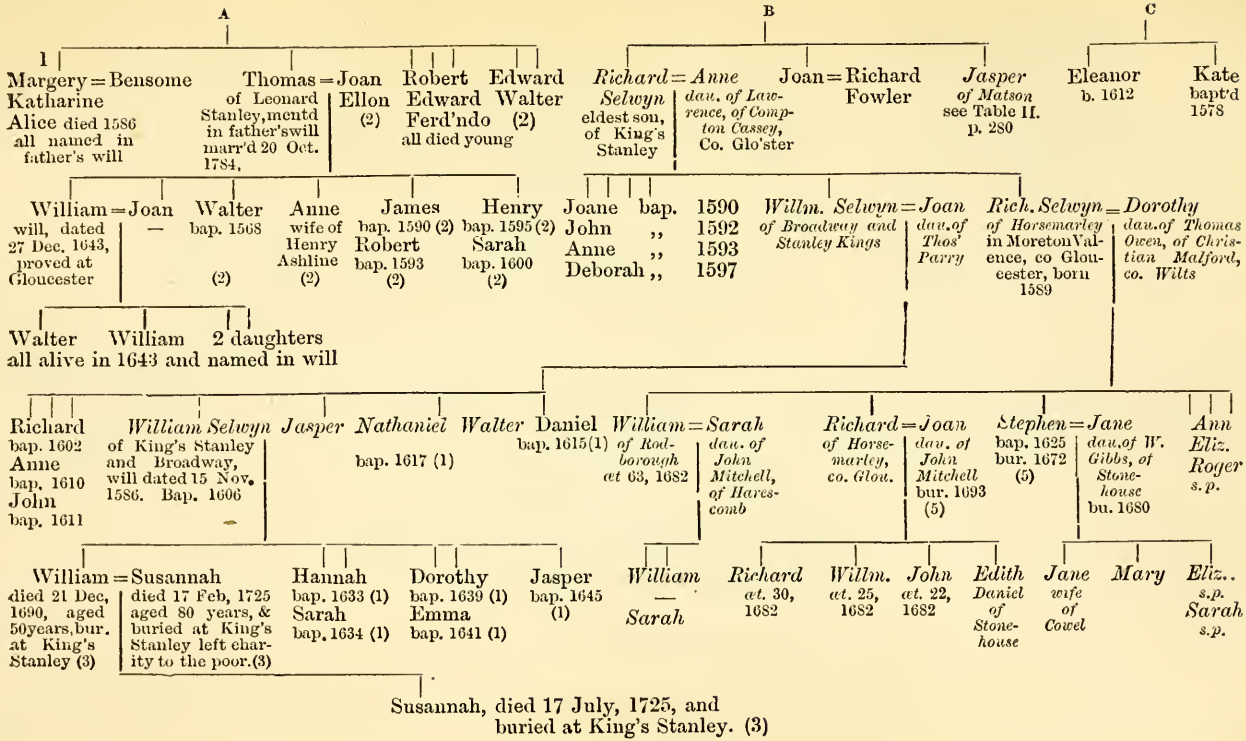
William Selwyn (7) eldest son buried at King's Stanley, 1586 (1) = *Catherine, dau. of John Clutterbuck of Leonard's Stanley.* Buried at King's Stanley, 1599 (1)

Richard named in brother Walt's will. Died & buried at King's Stanley, 1599 (1)

Thomas named in lease and in Chancery proceedings (7)(2) = Margery buried 1612 (2)

C

Joan
Isabel
Anne
Alice


A
B
C
1
Margery = Bensome
Katharine
Alice died 1586
all named in father's will
Thomas = Joan
of Leonard Stanley, mentd in father's will marr'd 20 Oct. 1784.
Ellon (2)
Robert
Edward
Ferd'ndo
Edward
Walter (2)
all died young
Richard = Anne
Selwyn
eldest son, of King's Stanley
dau. of Lawrence, of Compton Cassey, Co. Glo'ster
Joan = Richard Fowler
Jasper
of Matson
see Table II. p. 280
Eleanor
b. 1612
Kate
bapt'd 1578
William = Joan
will, dated 27 Dec. 1643, proved at Gloucester
—
Walter
bap. 1568
(2)
Anne
wife of Henry Ashline
(2)
James
bap. 1590 (2)
Robert
bap. 1593
(2)
Henry
bap. 1595 (2)
Sarah
bap. 1600
(2)
Joane bap. 1590
John ,, 1592
Anne ,, 1593
Deborah ,, 1597
Willm. Selwyn = Joan
of Broadway and Stanley Kings
dau. of Thos' Parry
Rich. Selwyn = Dorothy
of Horsemarley in Moreton Valence, co Gloucester, born 1589
dau. of Thomas Owen, of Christian Malford, co. Wilts
Walter
William
2 daughters
all alive in 1643 and named in will
Richard
bap. 1602
Anne
bap. 1610
John
bap. 1611
William Selwyn
of King's Stanley and Broadway, will dated 15 Nov. 1586. Bap. 1606
Jasper
Nathaniel
bap. 1617 (1)
Walter
Daniel
bap. 1615 (1)
William = Sarah
of Rodborough æt 63, 1682
dau. of John Mitchell, of Harescomb
Richard = Joan
of Horsemarley, co. Glou.
dau. of John Mitchell
bur. 1693
(5)
Stephen = Jane
bap. 1625
bur. 1672
(5)
dau. of W. Gibbs, of Stonehouse
bu. 1680
Ann
Eliz.
Roger
s.p.
William = Susannah
died 21 Dec, 1690, aged 50 years, bur. at King's Stanley (3)
died 17 Feb, 1725 aged 80 years, & buried at King's Stanley left charity to the poor. (3)
Hannah
bap. 1633 (1)
Sarah
bap. 1634 (1)
Dorothy
bap. 1639 (1)
Emma
bap. 1641 (1)
Jasper
bap. 1645
(1)
William — Sarah
Richard
æt. 30, 1682
Willm.
æt. 25, 1682
John
æt. 22, 1682
Edith
Daniel of Stonehouse
Jane
wife of Cowel
Mary
Eliz..
s.p.
Sarah
s.p.
Susannah, died 17 July, 1725, and buried at King's Stanley. (3)

SELWYN, OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—*TABLE II.*

Jasper Selwyn = *Margaret, dau. and co-h.*
of Matson.
(5) Councellor of Law and J.P.,
(3) married 1591, died 1634.
(1) and buried at Matson. Will proved, Glou'Reg., 1635.
See Table I., Pedigree III.

of Thomas Robbins als Bowyer, of Matson, and Joan, dau. of Lawrence Singleton.
Bur. at Matson, 25 May, 1636. (1)

(1) Catherine, bap. 1598, buried same year.
(1)*Thomas, bap. 1600.
(1) John, bap. 1602, bur. 1603.
(1) *Joan*, bap. 1603, mar. *Bower*
(1)*Margaret bap. 1604.

William Selwyn = *Edith, daughter and sole heir of Leonard Bennet*, Buried at Stonehouse, 20 June, 1632 (2)
Of Matson & Stonehouse,
(1) bap. 7 Oct., 1593,
(1) Mar. 18 Sep., 1621.
(5) Bur. 2 Nov., 1643.

(1) *Ann*, bap. 1605 = W. Dutton
(1) *Sarah*, bap. 1606 = W. Jones
(1) Jasper, bap. 1608.
(*) Dorothy, bap. 1615.
(*) John, bap. 1617.

Richard
second son.
(a)
(See Table III.

(2) Ursula, bap. 1632 = Jeremy Burke
(2) Sarah, bap. 1625.
(1) Edith, bap. 1627.

William = Margaret, dau, of Edward Nourse of Gloucester, bur. at Matson, 1716, aged 91. (1)(5)
of Matson, Ebley, and Stonehouse.
(2) Bap. Dec. 21, 1624, mar., 1641.
(1) Bur. at Matson, 1679

(2) Samuel, bap. 1629.
(2) Anne, bap. 1631.

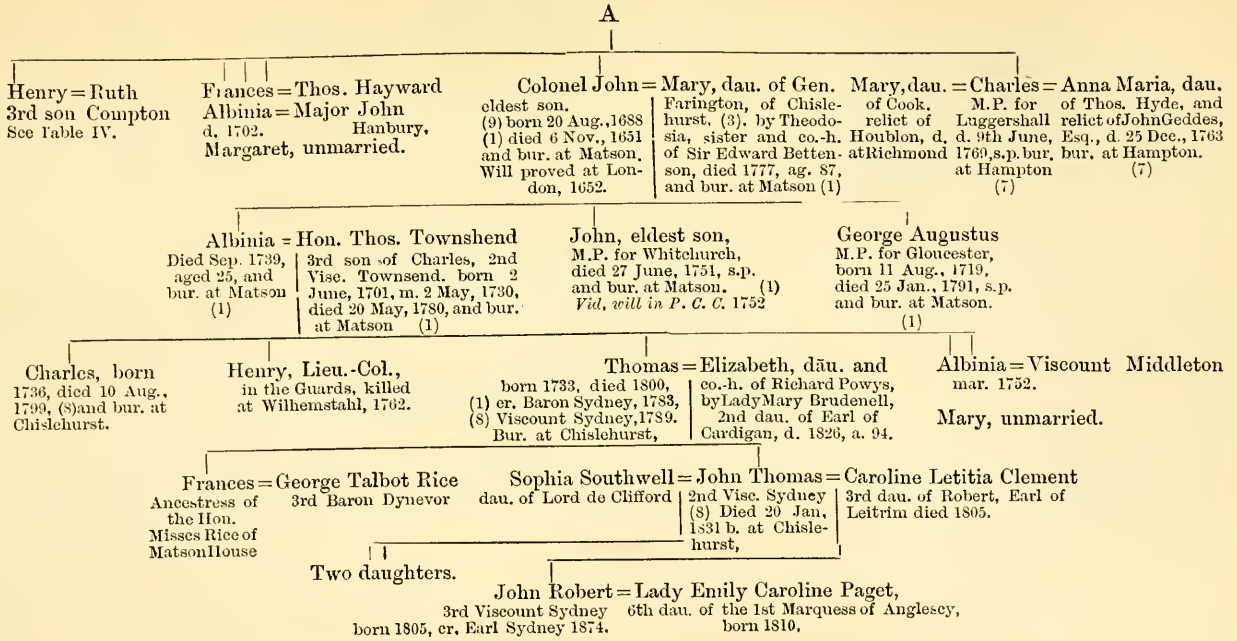
(5)(1) William, died 1649, ag. 5.
(5)(1) Theophilus, died 1655, ag. 3.
(5)(1) Jasper, died 1655, ag. 1.
(*) Mary
(*) Sarah, bap. 1645.
(*) Anne.
* *Named in father's will.*

William = Albinia, sister and coheir of Sir Edward Betenson, bur. at Matson, 1737, aged 80. (1)(5)(8)
Lieut.-Gen. H.M.S., born 1655 mar. 1681.
(5) died April 6 1702.
Named in father's will

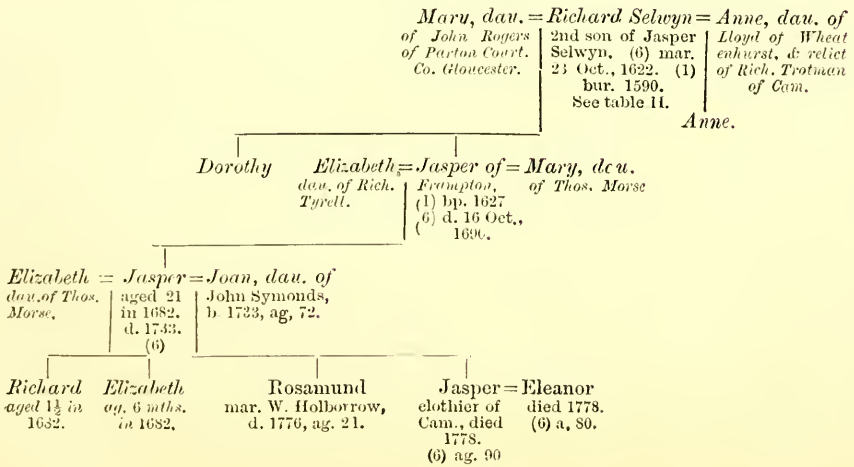
A

Edward = Johanna Browning
Killed in duel, 1673. (Rudder.) s.p.
mar. 2ndly Joseph Knight.

*Sophia = Thos. Gwyllam.
*Beata = William Johnson.
*Margaret = Sam. Browning.


A
Henry = Ruth
3rd son Compton
See Table IV.
Frances = Thos. Hayward
Albinia = Major John Hanbury,
d. 1702.
Margaret, unmarried.
Colonel John = Mary, dau. of Gen.
eldest son.
(9) born 20 Aug., 1688
(1) died 6 Nov., 1651
and bur. at Matson.
Will proved at London, 1652.
Farington, of Chislehurst, (3). by Theodosia, sister and co.-h. of Sir Edward Betten-son, died 1777, ag. 87, and bur. at Matson (1)
Mary, dau. = Charles = Anna Maria, dau.
of Cook.
relict of Houblon, d. at Richmond
M.P. for Luggershall d. 9th June, 1769, s.p. bur. at Hampton (7)
of Thos. Hyde, and relict of John Geddes, Esq., d. 25 Dec., 1763 bur. at Hampton. (7)
Albinia = Hon. Thos. Townshend
Died Sep. 1739, aged 25, and bur. at Matson (1)
3rd son of Charles, 2nd Vise. Townsend. born 2 June, 1701, m. 2 May, 1730, died 20 May, 1780, and bur. at Matson (1)
John, eldest son,
M.P. for Whitchurch, died 27 June, 1751, s.p. and bur. at Matson. (1)
Vid. will in P. C. C. 1752
George Augustus
M.P. for Gloucester, born 11 Aug., 1719, died 25 Jan., 1791, s.p. and bur. at Matson. (1)
Charles, born
1736, died 10 Aug., 1799, (8) and bur. at Chislehurst.
Henry, Lieu.-Col.,
in the Guards, killed at Wilhemstahl, 1762.
Thomas = Elizabeth, dau. and
born 1733, died 1800,
(1) cr. Baron Sydney, 1783,
(8) Viscount Sydney, 1789.
Bur. at Chislehurst,
co.-h. of Richard Powys, by Lady Mary Brudenell, 2nd dau. of Earl of Cardigan, d. 1826, a. 94.
Albinia = Viscount Middleton
mar. 1752.
Mary, unmarried.
Frances = George Talbot Rice
Ancestress of the Hon. Misses Rice of Matson House
3rd Baron Dynevor
Sophia Southwell = John Thomas = Caroline Letitia Clement
dau. of Lord de Clifford
2nd Vise. Sydney
(8) Died 20 Jan., 1831 b. at Chislehurst,
3rd dau. of Robert, Earl of Leitrim died 1805.
Two daughters.
John Robert = Lady Emily Caroline Paget,
3rd Viscount Sydney born 1805, cr. Earl Sydney 1874.
6th dau. of the 1st Marquess of Anglesey, born 1810.

SELWYNS OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—*TABLE III.*



REFERENCES. TABLES I.—V.

1 Matson Registers & existing Monuments
2 Stonehouse Registers.
3 Stanley Kings' Registers.
4 Stanley Leonards' Registers.
5 Bigland's Collections.
6 Monuments at Wheatenhurst.
7 Monuments at Richmond.
8 Monuments at Chislehurst.
9 Rev. Charles Jasper Selwyn's Notes.

SELWYNS OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—*TABLE IV.*

Henry Selwyn = **Ruth, dau. of Anthony Compton, of Gainslaw, Berwick-on-Tweed, died 3 May, 1761, and buried at Chislehurst**
Capt. of Royal Regt. of N.B. Dragoons. Died September, 1734, aged 45, and buried at Matson
See Table II.

- **Charles Jasper** = **Elizabeth** dau. of Thos Coxeter, of Bampton, co. Oxon. born 1730.
  Vicar of Blockley and Rector of Beverstone, born 19 Feb, 1726; married June 1750, died 1794, and buried at Batsford
- **Albinia** = **William Irby**, Lord Boston, married 26 Aug. 1746
  born 1719 died 1769
- **Mary, Charlotte, Frances, Louisa, Hannah** — all died unmarried
- **William** = **Frances** dau. of John Dod, M.D., of Woodford, co. Essex. Born Nov. 1733
  of Lincoln's Inn born 1732 & marr'd 1763
  (1) *see Table V.*
- **Catherine** = **Thos. Wilks** of Blockley co. Worcester

- **Henry Charles** = **Sarah, dau.** of Nathaniel Thompson, of Quebec. died 1820, aged 60
  Captain of Royal Fusiliers, Lieut.-Gov. of Montserrat; died 1807, and buried at Matson.
- **Mary** born 1763
  Harriet ,, 1767
  Elizabeth ,, 1769
  William ,, 1771
  William ,, 1775
  all died unmarried
- **Albinia** = **George, 3rd Lord Myddleton**
  b. 1758
- **John** = **Bridget**
- **Congreve** = **Lydia**

- **Townshend** = **Charlotte Sophia** eldest dau. of Lord Geo. Murray, Bp. of S. David's, son of Duke of Athol, born 1785, died 1866
  Rector of Kilmington Vicar of Milton Cleve, Canon of Gloucester, born June 10 1782, married June 16 1812, & died May 30 1853
  A
- **Maria Louisa** born 1786
  Henry Charles ,, 1789
  Henrietta Elizabeth 1797
- **Charles Jasper** = **Sophia** dau. of John Tupper
  Col. R.E., b. 1792 died 1847
- **Edward** = **Fanny** dau. of T. Mayers; & 2nd— **Fanny** dau. of Rev J. Simons, Rector of St. Paul's Cray, died 1848. By whom he had issue
  Rector of Henmington Abbots, born 1794 died 1867.
  B
- **Albinia** = **Congreve Selwyn**
  born 1797
- **Charlotte** = **John**
  born 1778

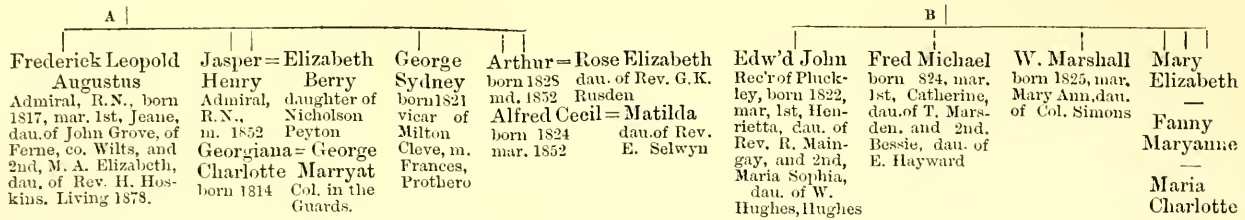
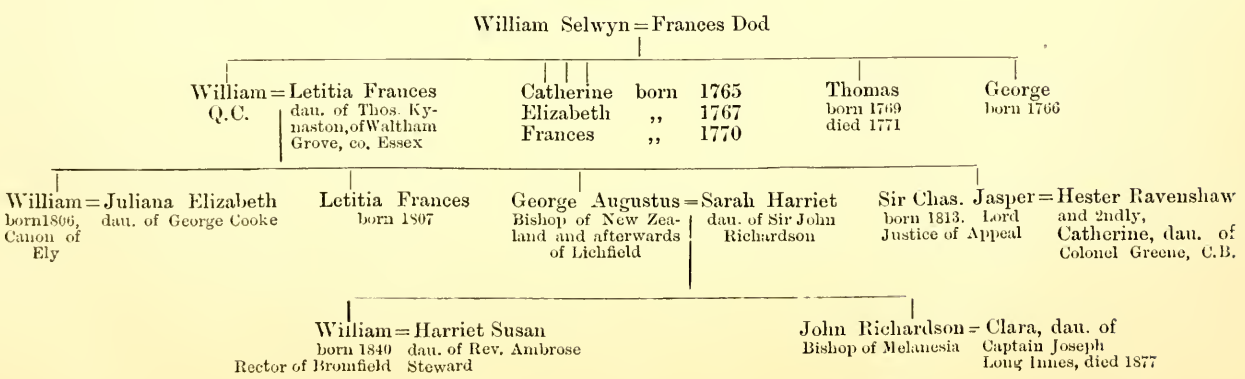

A
Frederick Leopold Augustus
Admiral, R.N., born 1817, mar. 1st, Jeane, dau. of John Grove, of Ferne, co. Wilts, and 2nd, M. A. Elizabeth, dau. of Rev. H. Hoskins. Living 1878.
Jasper Henry
Admiral, R.N., m. 1852
Elizabeth Berry
daughter of Nicholson Peyton
Georgiana Charlotte
born 1814
George Marryat
Col. in the Guards.
George Sydney
born 1821 vicar of Milton Cleve, m. Frances, Prothero
Arthur
born 1828 md. 1852
Rose Elizabeth
dau. of Rev. G.K. Rusden
Alfred Cecil
born 1824 mar. 1852
Matilda
dau. of Rev. E. Selwyn
B
Edw'd John
Rec'r of Pluckley, born 1822, mar, 1st, Henrietta, dau. of Rev. R. Maingay, and 2nd, Maria Sophia, dau. of W. Hughes, Hughes
Fred Michael
born 824, mar. 1st, Catherine, dau. of T. Marsden. and 2nd. Bessie, dau. of E. Hayward
W. Marshall
born 1825, mar. Mary Ann, dau. of Col. Simons
Mary Elizabeth
Fanny Maryanne
Maria Charlotte

TABLE V.


William Selwyn
Frances Dod
William Q.C.
Letitia Frances
dau. of Thos. Kynaston, of Waltham Grove, co. Essex
Catherine born 1765
Elizabeth ,, 1767
Frances ,, 1770
Thomas
born 1769 died 1771
George
born 1766
William
born 1806, Canon of Ely
Juliana Elizabeth
dau. of George Cooke
Letitia Frances
born 1807
George Augustus
Bishop of New Zealand and afterwards of Lichfield
Sarah Harriet
dau. of Sir John Richardson
Sir Chas. Jasper
born 1813. Lord Justice of Appeal
Hester Ravenshaw
and 2ndly, Catherine, dau. of Colonel Greene, C.B.
William
born 1840 Rector of Bromfield
Harriet Susan
dau. of Rev. Ambrose Steward
John Richardson
Bishop of Melanesia
Clara, dau. of Captain Joseph Long Innes, died 1877

TENURES OF LAND, BY THE CUSTOMARY TENANTS, IN CIRENCESTER,

By Rev. E. A. FULLER, M.A.,
Vicar of S. Barnabas, Bristol.

I have here printed, with translations, a series of documents, describing the tenure of land by the customary tenants in Cirencester, during a period of about 450 years, commencing 1086, and ending 1540; and I have made some comments on these documents, as illustrating the early system of tenures, and the gradual changes that took place in that system as the centuries passed along.

The documents next in order after the extract from Domesday, are from Volume A of the antient Chartulary of the Abbey of Cirencester, which is among the manuscripts of the valuable library collected by the late Sir Thomas Phillips; and it is by the courtesy of his daughter, Mrs. Fenwick, the present possessor of that library, that I am allowed to print these documents. An Inquisition, identical with the second of these records, No. III., is also entered on the King's Bench Roll, Michs. 9, Hen. III. (1225), m. 6 d, and m. 20 d, of which there is an official copy among the Chancery County Placita, for Gloucestershire, 43 Edw. III. I. a, and exemplifications of it are on the Patent Rolls, 43 Edw. III. (1370) part ii. 14, and 1 Hen. V. (1413) part i, 14: this Inquisition being the standard of reference for determining the manorial rights of the Abbot over his tenants in Cirencester. The last of the documents printed at length is a portion of the pleadings before Sir Wm. Hankford and Sir Thos. Fitznicoll, the king's Justices of Assize at Gloucester, in August, 1413, in which are set forth how much of those ancient rights the lord of the manor still claimed.

I.[1]—Terra Regis. In Cirecestre hundredo, habuit Rex Edwardus v, hidas terræ. Ibi in dominio v carucæ et xxxi villani cum x carucis. Ibi xiij servi et x bordarii et iij molini de xxx solidis et prata et ij silvæ de l. solidis, et ibi ij liberi homines ij carucas habentes. Lanam ovium regina habebat. Tempore Regis Edwardi reddebat hoc manerium iij modios frumenti et dimidium et brasii iij modios et mellis vi sextarios et dimidium et ix libras et v solidos, et ter mille panes canibus. Modo reddit xx libras et v solidos xx vaccas xx porcos et pro panibus xvi solidos et de novo foro xx solidos quorum habet Sancta Maria tertium denarium.

TRANSLATION:—The King's land. In Cirecestre hundred, King Edward held 5 hides of land. There, in demesne, are 5 ploughs, and 31 villeins, with 10 ploughs. There are 13 serfs, and 10 bordars, and 3 mills worth 30 shillings, and meadows and two woods worth 50 shillings; and there are two free men having two ploughs. The Queen used to have the wool of the sheep. In the time of King Edward this manor paid three-and-a-half bushels of corn, and three bushels of malt, ten pints of honey, and £9 5s., and three thousand loaves for the dogs. Now it pays £20 5s., twenty cows, twenty pigs and for the loaves sixteen shillings, and from the new market 20 shillings, of which St. Mary (*i.e.*, the College of Canons) has the third penny.

II.[2]—Sewald Cut operare, Rembald Cut operare, Godefray Cuppe operare, Johannes faber operare, Heregrim fecit messionem sed quantum nesciunt, Robertus Hegrim operare, Segrim kariavit fenum et bladum et messivit i acram, Godefray Thuche metere iij acras et dimidiam et tribus diebus falcare et fenare et sarclare, Redegold operare, Robertus filius Segrim operare.

Non est tam liber homo qui non debet arare et cariare cum plaustro si habet vel cum biga, scilicet Willielmus de Saga, Willielmus Torel, Alred Pilie, Terra Edwardi filii Hune, Terra Acelini, presbyteri, Philippus i acram et ij dies fenationis, Alketillus de Tidret i acram et ij fenationes, Thurebert id ipsum, Eilmar id ipsum, Baron i die, Willielmus Croce id ipsum, Heriot id ipsum, Adam eriare et cariare, Robertus Gibet dimidiam acram, Hereward i acram et fenationem.

1 Domesday Book, Gloucestershire, fo. 162, b.

2 Cir Abb. Regist., A 13 a.

Aldic de la Barre tenet quadrantem terræ quæ fuit operaria tenendo carucam, Willielmus debet metere unam acram et fenagium, Vidua Wulfrici similiter, Alketillus id ipsum, Galfridi terra id ipsum, Terra Godefridi id ipsum, Robertus Hurt id ipsum, Alanus Rufus id ipsum, Robertus piger id ipsum, Terra Seman operare, Terra Thuche operare, Lunerici terra operare, Osbert de Waleburewe operare, Terra Wulverici cum porcis operare, terra puellarum operare.

Roger Hurt i.d., Vidua Galfridi i d., Alketil i.d., Vidua Wulverici i.d., Johannes de Waleburewe i.d., Ailmar de Chirm̃t i.d., Thurebert i d., Alketill i.d., Unfridus Tredegod i.d., Philippus i.d., Staph' Willielmi i.d., Godefrai Thuke i.d, Willielmus filius Radulphi i.d., Johannes faber i.d. Ricardus Knit i.d., Godefray Corre i.d., Angod i.d.

Translation :—Sewald Cut, Rembald Cut, Godfray Cuppe, John the smith, were wont to labour; Heregrim mowed corn, but they (*i.e.*, the jurors of the inquisition) know not how much; Robert Heregrim laboured; Segrim carried hay and corn, and mowed an acre; Godfray Thuche used to mow three acres and a half of corn, and for three days to cut grass and make hay, and hoe; Redegold, and Robert the son of Segrim used to labour.

There is no man so free, but he is bound to plough, and to carry with a waggon if he has one, or with a cart, as William de Saga, William Torel, Alred Pilie, the land of Edward the son of Hune, the land of Acelin the priest; Philip, and Alketil de Tidret, one acre and two days' haymaking; Thurebert and Eilmar, the same; Baron, one day; William Croce and Heriot, the same; Adam, to ear (plough) and carry; Robert Gibet, half an acre; Hereward, one acre and hay-making.

Aldic de la Barre holds a quarter of a virgate, that used to render labour service, by keeping a plough; Wulfric's widow, Alketil, Geoffrey's land, Godfrey's land, Robert Hurt, Alan Rufus, Robert the sluggard, ought each to mow an acre of corn and do hay-making work; Seman's land, Thuche's land, Luneric's land, to labour; Osbert de Waleburewe to labour; Wulverie's land to work among the swine; the maiden's land to labour.

Roger Hurt, Geoffrey's widow, Alketil, Wulverie's widow, John of Waleburewe, Ailmar de Chirm̃t, Thurebert, Alketill, Humphey Tredegod, Philip, Stephen the son of William, Godefrai Thuke, William the son of Ralph, John the smith, Richard Knit, Godefray, Corre, Angod, each pay a penny.

There can be no doubt but that this second document has some

reference to the first, that it is a partial extent of the king's demesne, in Cirencester, as described in Domesday, though not exactly of the same date.

When Henry I. transformed the ancient college of secular canons, which had existed from the time of Egbert, into a monastery of regular Augustinian canons, he took away all their old charters,[1] and gave them a new charter of foundation; accordingly when, in the reign of Henry III., the canons began to enrol their muniments, the first document entered in their chartulary was the new charter of foundation given by Henry I., in 1133, from which date the various charters, letters patent, inquisitions, &c., are continued in regular order to about 1250, all in the same hand writing of the first scribe. These are written in double columns, commencing at folio 14 a.[2] There are two indexes, one a long one of the whole contents of the volume, written by a later hand, and occupying folios 1-7, but the other, the original scribes' index to his enrolments, commences on the second column of folio 13 a, and in the first column he entered the extract from Domesday about the king's demesne given above (No. I), and immediately below, without any heading, the inquisition transcribed above (No. II). Now Henry the First's donation did not include the manor of which the abbey became first possessed at about 1155-6, 1 or 2, Hen. II., holding it then, not permanently by charter, but at the king's will, the king by letters patent having authorised the abbot to treat the manor as his own in aid of the building of the abbey church. The patent is undated, but in the Pipe Roll of 2 Hen. II., the Sheriff of Gloucester is allowed for lands, in Cirencester, given to the Canons of Cirencester, worth £29 a year; whereas, in the Pipe Roll of 31 Hen. I., the allowance to the Sheriff for the Canons' land is only £1 2s. 6d. It is clear, then, that this inquisition refers to some period before the manor thus passed into the hands of the Canons, or else it would have been entered in the regular series along with other documents

1 Leland Collectanea, i. 84.

2 There are three separate paginations in vol. A of the Register, I have followed the one at the bottom of the page.

relating to the manor while they thus held it "in commendam" during the reign of Henry II., and it is equally clear that it is of a later date than Domesday, for the prevalence of Norman names shews that it concerns a generation later than the Conquest; moreover it is impossible to make the two exactly tally with each other.

I am inclined to place it towards the middle of the reign of Stephen, or even in the first year of Henry II., there being no occasion between 1086 and 1141, as far as I know, when such an inquisition needed to be taken, and the only name which I can trace elsewhere, W. Torell, appears as witnessing a deed of gift concerning a mill in Cirencester, the confirmation of which by Henry II. was some time between 1154 and 1162, as the deed of confirmation is attested by Thomas-â-Becket, as Chancellor.[1] Cirencester seems to have formed, originally, part of the great Earldom of Hereford, created by the Conqueror for William Fitz-osborn; for Earl William is named in Domesday as having made an alteration in the tenure of one of the freemen of the manor.[2] But by 1086 the manor was back again in the King's hand, Earl William being dead and his son Roger in prison as a rebel, and in the crown the manor continued till in 1141 the Empress Maud re-created the Earldom of Hereford in favour of her adherent Milo Fitzwalter. On his death in 1144 his son Roger succeeded him; but on Roger's death in 1154 Henry did not immediately grant confirmation of succession to Roger's brother Walter; the manor was again resumed by the Crown, and Henry, as already mentioned, gave it to the Abbey. This inquisition, then, might have been taken either in 1141, in order to ascertain the rights of the new lord Milo, or on the resumption by the Crown in 1154, and in either case it is presumably the one to which the King refers in his patent[3] where he "bids the Abbot withdraw and hold all his demesnes of Cirencester as the worthy men of the town have sworn to them, and nameably the service and tenements of William of Cirencester,[4] as that has been sworn to by the worthy men."

1 Monasticon, iii., 23. 2 Domesday, i., 162, b. 3 Cir. Abb. Reg. A 21 b.

4 William's land was wanted for the enlargement of the monastery, and the monks accordingly pulled the houses down, extirpated the garden, and threw it into the precincts.—Cir. Abb. Reg., A 17 a.

The document is interesting, for it seems to bear on its face a trace of the troubles and disorders of Stephen's reign, when, according to the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, "thou mightest well walk a whole day's journey, nor ever shouldest thou find a man seated in a town or its lands tilled." The jurors' ignorance as to how much mowing Heregrim formerly did points to a time when the lord's rights had been in abeyance, or could not be exacted when men were doing everyone that which was right in his own eyes. It is interesting also as describing a very early condition of services on the manor, for though taken in all probability sixty years after Domesday, yet the customs described are the ancient customs of the manor, the same apparently as performed by the tenants at the period of the conquest, if not in even earlier times.

It was mentioned above that there is an apparent discrepancy between the record of Domesday and this inquisition. Domesday mentions 31 villeins, 13 serfs, and 10 bordars, with presumably 3 millers, as there are three mills named, making a total of 57 tenancies. The total number of tenancies in the inquisition is equally 57, but the classes do not quite coincide. There are 12 described as "*operarii*," *i.e.* labourers, men that are of the humblest order, whose condition is described by Bracton, ii., c. 8 § 2, as rendering a service uncertain, and not determined, who did not know one evening what they might have to do on the morrow; they had to give their whole service to their lord if he required it. And besides these twelve, the tenure of one parcel of land is described as having been changed from the lower order of labour service to the higher one of maintaining a plough. These thirteen will correspond with the thirteen serfs of Domesday. It is the other classes that do not tally. One point of resemblance is in the ploughing services. Domesday mentions five ploughs on the demesne, and ten among the villeinage; while in the inquisition there are fifteen, besides Aldic de la Barre, named as being bound to plough. In the inquisition, however, there are only 27,[1] not counting Aldric de la Barre, who are described as holding by

1 It may be noted, however, that these two classes together, numbering forty, are just equal to the total number of tenants named in the next inquisition of the time of King John.

definite farm labour service corresponding to the villeins of Domesday, who are there said to be 31 in number, while no mention is made, as in the case of De la Barre, of any alteration of tenure. The explanation, in all probability, is that some of the villeins of Domesday are, in the inquisition, among those who pay a penny, and who appear to answer to the Bordarii. In the extents of manors in the Gloucester Chartulary,[1] about 1267, where the several services due from each tenant are set out with extreme minuteness, the value of each separate kind of work is also written down, and then the ploughing of an acre in the heavier land of the Vale of Severn was counted to be worth 4d. or 4½d., but up in the Cotswold 2½d. or 3d.; a day's manual labour was estimated at ½d. or ¾d.; a day's reaping, 2d. to 2½d.; a day's mowing, 2½d. to 3d.; a day's haymaking, 1d. In the Domesday of St. Paul's,[2] i.e., the Inquisition of the manors belonging to that Cathedral in 1222, in which each separate tenancy and its character is described, mention is made in a few instances of parcels of land formerly held on labour tenure and now on a money payment, and on the other hand, there are instances of just the reverse. Comparing the services and payments it would seem the value of a day's labour was estimated at about ½d. So in the similar elaborate Register of the manors belonging to the Priory of Worcester[3] in 1240, in each case the condition of tenure of the villeins of every class, high or low, is set out, whether they held by money payment or labour service, it being apparently a matter of choice under which tenure they held, and a comparison between the two shews a similar estimate of the value of a day's labour. So, also, in some extents of manors belonging to the Cathedral of Ely, quoted in illustration by Archdeacon Hale in his notes on the Register of Worcester Priory, a day's labour is worth ½d., a day's ploughing, 1d., and the ploughing of an acre, 4d. It is easy to understand then when there is in the manor of Cirencester an instance of such a small service as that done by Robert Gibet, viz., of ploughing half an acre, that it is quite possible that a penny might be a fair equivalent, in some

1 Master of the Rolls Series.

2 3 Publications of Camden Society, 1865.

instances, for services done on this manor by the tenants to the lord, especially when it is remembered that this valuation will have been estimated at a settlement made about 200 years earlier than the other extents to which we have been referring. Indeed, when this record is compared, in the matter of money payment in lieu of service, with the next in order of time, it will be seen that the first must either be a settlement of very early date, or else, if of later date, that it bears more marks than suggested before, of the great troubles and consequent depression of Stephen's reign, the penny payment being taken not as a real equivalent, but as all that could be obtained under the circumstances.

There are two writs of Henry II.[1] in the Abbey Chartulary A, bearing somewhat on this point; one, a writ to the King's officers everywhere, bidding them cause to be restored to his canons of Cirencester their fugitives and natives with their chattels, who had fled since the death of Henry I.; a writ which shews how completely out of gear the whole local and provincial machinery of authority had been during Stephen's reign; but the other writ, of protection to the men of Cirencester, seems quite to preclude the suggestion that the small money payment is due to the disorder of the last nineteen years: the King at Cirencester "bids the abbot not unjustly vex the King's men of Cirencester for their free tenements which they hold of the King, nor unjustly exact from them any other customs or services than those which they were bound to perform for their tenements when the King gave the town to the Abbey in alms, or than the men and their ancestors were wont to perform in the days of Henry I." The customs, therefore, of the first year of Henry II. were the same as those in the reign of Henry I., and the services of the tenants on the demesne, such as the worthy men of Cirencester had at some recent period sworn to them, were no new customs adopted perforce during the absence of authority in Stephen's reign, but the ancient customs existing in the previous reign of Henry I., and most likely, therefore, in the century preceding, possibly even in the time of

1 Cir. Abb. Reg. A 22 a.

the old English kings. I have dwelt upon this point at some length, because I believe that detailed inquisitions of such early date are not very common.

Taking this inquisition then as explanatory of the short summary of Domesday, we see that the lord had, without payment, the services of thirteen labourers, who everyday, if required, had to perform any manual labour which was set them; a swineherd; nine men bound to mow an acre of corn; one who mowed three acres; and one more who had to mow apparently throughout the whole season; only one who cut grass, but seventeen haymakers for different periods; seven who carried the hay and corn with their own teams; and fifteen ploughmen bound to plough, either with their own or their lord's ploughs, but not all the same amount, one half an acre, eight of them an acre apiece, and six with no limit named; besides these, one man had to do some hoeing among the corn.

At the same time it must be remembered that this would not represent all the labour which was at the command of the lord of the manor without payment. I have already said that this inquisition is only a partial extent of the manor, dealing only with the labour services, or payment in lieu of service, due from ancient days from the customary tenants; it does not mention the universal custom of hay-making and harvest work affecting all the dwellers on the manor, customs which, as they were among the most ancient, were also, as we shall see, of the longest continuance; nor does it again embrace all the tenants, for it does not touch the assessed land, and the rents due from the tenants of such land. That the abbey had an income from assessed rents would be a matter of course, from the analogy of similar properties; and, accordingly, in the Pipe Roll of 33 Hen. II. (1187), where the profits of the abbey are entered during the vacancy after the death of Abbot Robert, their income from assessed rents is set down as over £153 a year, though there is nothing to show how much was derived from Cirencester itself. In four several taxations, however, of the latter half of the thirteenth century, viz.: in

1251,[1] 1252,[2] 1254,[3] 1291,[4] the value of the manor of Cirencester is set out under the two heads of the annual value of the land held by the abbey, and the assessed rent; the services of the customary tenants, or their money payments in commutation of service, with which the Abbot could hire labourers, entering no doubt into the estimated annual value of the land; and in the detailed accounts of the abbey property at the suppression in 1539, the rents of assize, and rents of the customary tenants in the manor, are entered separately. The only mention of a definite money rent that I can fix in very early times, is in the case of William of Cirencester, who is named in the writ of Henry II. transcribed above. He, and his father Hugh, in the reign of Henry I., are said[5] to have held their land by payment of twenty shillings rent, and other services, and to have held their land in villeinage, for there were only two really free men on the manor who did not owe villein service of some kind or other to their lord. It may be that he is the William named in the inquisition among the customary tenants, holding other land on a different tenure, just as among these customary tenants on the manor there are five, at least, who held land under more than one class, a very frequent thing on all manors; but there will have been many others besides them holding lands of assize, and though some, like William, may also have held customary land, there must have been, we may be sure from the analogy of other manors, some who held assessed land alone. This illustrates the point, to which Archdeacon Hale drew attention in his Introduction to the Register of Worcester Priory, that Domesday is not exhaustive as regards population; for if the inquisition we have been considering represents, as has been suggested, the detailed account of the men named on the manor in Domesday, and it does not embrace as a rule the tenants of the assessed land, then there must be a certain number of payers of rent to be added to the customary tenants named in that survey; and this is the conclusion to which the Archdeacon came after a careful consideration of the extents of the Worcester

1 Antient Miscell. of Exchequer, $\frac{8^{0}}{1}$ 2 3 Cir. Abb. Reg. A., 127 a.-129 a.

4 Tax. P. Nichol., 234. 5 Cir. Abb. Reg. A, 17a.

manors in 1240. On the other hand, the fact to which I have drawn attention, that in five instances the same man holds under different classes, reduces any estimate we might otherwise frame; as the number of tenants named in Domesday is thereby shewn to be no certain guide to the number of households.

One other point to be noticed is that the services of the customary tenants were partly personal, *i.e.*, due from them because of their personal villeinage or serfdom, they being men who came of families that were, by birth, villeins or serfs before the Conquest, at the Conquest, and after; and partly were due from the land, of whatever personal condition as to freedom or serfdom the actual tenant might be. Of the forty tenants whose services are named, the land is said to owe the service in ten instances, equally divided originally between the classes of villeins and serfs, but at the time of the inquisition in the proportion of six and four; from the other thirty the service appears to be due personally.

Before the date of the next two documents, which belong to the reign of John, there has been a change in the relation of the manor to the king. The temporary grant of the town to the Abbey continued till the death of Abbot Robert in 1186, when, during the vacancy, the whole property of the canons was seized into the king's hands.[1] The vacancy lasted about three quarters of a year, but Henry retained the manor of Cirencester for half a year longer, at the end of which time the new Abbot Richard obtained a grant of the town on the same terms as before, but on king Richard's accession the abbot purchased from the king a charter, granting him the town in perpetuity with all the king's manorial rights. Henceforth too the standard is no longer the customs of the manor in the days of Henry I., but the customs, such as they were when Henry II. held the manor before he gave it to Abbot Richard, *i.e.*, the years 1187-8. This appears very definitely in No. IV.

1 Cir. Abb. Reg. A., 17 a.

III.—[1] Inquisitio facta per preceptum domini Johannis Regis de serviciis et consuetudinibus Cyrencestrie per Ricardum de Muchegros et Walterum de Verdun. Universis, &c.
Universitati vestre significandum nos mandatum domini Regis in hec verba suscepisse: Johannes dei gratia, &c., mandatum est vobis quod sine mora eatis usque Cyrencestriam et diligenter inquiratis quod servicium villati de Cyrencestria facere consueverunt Henrico patri-nostro dum illa villa fuit in manu sua. Inquisita vero veritate servicium illum Abbati de Cyrencestria fieri faciatis. Venientes Cyrencestriam convocari fecimus coram nobis halimotum de Cyren' cestria et ejusdem halimoti assensu fecimus eligi xvi. homines de senioribus et legalioribus de Cyrencestria, qui prut dicebatur magis sciebant consuetudines et servicia ville de Cyrencestria, ad dicendum et recognoscendum per juramentum suum quod servicium homines de Cyrencestria facere consueverunt pie memorie Henrico regi, patri domini nostri Johannis regis Anglie, dum illa villa fuit in manu sua. Hec sunt nomina eorundem xvi electorum :—Thomas de Mora, Johannes de Suthington, Willielmus Wrench, Willielmus Ascer, Ricardus Cervus, Ricardus filius Emme, Ricardus de felde, Robertus Wen, Robertus de loch, Henricus Wydie, Michael de mora, Aluric Penes, Hugh Bec, Rogerus filius Wymond, Gilbert Saneril, Hugh Rugge. Hi xvi homines in presentia nostra, tactis saero sanctis evangeliis, jurati super sacramentum sanctum, nobis recognoverunt et dixerunt illa servicia quæ facere homines de Cyren-cestria consueverunt memorato Henrico regi, cum ipse habuit Cyrencestriam in manu sua; et nos eadem servicia et consuetudines, quas memorati juratores coram nobis recognoverunt, hic in hunc modum fecimus subscribi. Terra Roberti Erkinbald se defendit per venatoriam; Terra Roberti de Pyrie se defendit conducendo the-saurarium domini regis infra comitatum ad custum suum et extra ad custum domini regis; Terra Willielmi Alad vi.d. pro omni servicio; terra Ricardi Francois xvi. d. pro omni servicio; Terra Baldwine v.s. et iij bederipas quolibet die iij homines et tres feneisuns et tholnetum et non potest sine licencia domini maritare filiam suam; Terra Thomas Everi, Wydin Blisse, Willielmi de ponte, Smyling,

1 Cir. Abb. Reg. A., 88 b.

Willielmi Kene, Hugonis Bec, Walteri Lund, omnes illi consueverunt servare boves domini regis tempore Henrici regis ad forragium domini regis; Terra Othulf solebat operare tribus diebus in ebdomada et iij bederipas et iij feneisuns et tholnetum et non potest sine licencia domini maritare filiam suam; Terra Willielmi Ascer iij s. et ij bederipas et non potest sine licencia domini maritare filiam suam; Terra Rembaldi de Preston eodem modo; Terra Willielmi Doggevel xxxii d. et per idem servicium; Terra Walteri le Brazieur ad operationem cum furca et flagello; (Virgata Lest v.s. et per idem servicium[1]); Terra Johannis Sails iiijs et per idem servicium; Terra Elie de Monasterio iiij s. et per idem servicium; Terra Aldwyn Claud iij s. et iij bederipas qualibet die duos homines et per idem servicium; Terra Alurici Penes ad furcam et flagellum; Terra Walteri de Ablington xviij d. et per idem servicium; Terra Rescent iij s. et per idem servicium; Virgata Warner ij s. et per idem servicium; Terra Athelgod, et terra Pari, et terra Vole ad furcam et flagellum; Terra Godway, ij s. et iij bederipas qualibet die iij homines et per idem servicium; Terra Michaelis de Suthington v.s. et iij bederipas qualibet die iij homines et per idem servicium; Terra Ricardi de Campeden ad operam cum furca et flagello ad grangian domini regis tempore Henrici regis; Terra Ernaldi Mattersdun iij s. et per idem servicium sic virgatarius; Terra Willielmi Somers ad operationem per jussum; Terra Ricardi Wrench iij s. et per idem servicium; Terra Pollard xij d. et per idem servicium; Terra Everard ij s. et per idem servicium; Virgata Karri iij s. et per idem servicium; Virgata Haregreve ij s. et per idem servicium; Virgata Troubrugge iij s. et per idem servicium; Terra Alwold vs. vi d. et per idem servicium; Tres virgate Foliot ix s. et bederipas et feneisuns; Terra Ricardi de Aqua vij s. et iij bederipas et feneisuns. Omnes alii qui manent super terram domini regis debent facere tres bederipas et iij feneisuns et dare gabellum et tholnetum et non possunt sine licencia domini maritare filiam suam, et cum faciunt bederipas dominus eos honorabiliter pascere debet. Omnes illi qui braciaverint de waynagio suo quieti erunt de tholneto.

1 This entry is not in register A, but appears in the King's Bench Roll.

Hec sunt consuetudines et servicia hominum de Cyrencestria per sacramentum predictorum xvj juratorum.

TRANSLATION.—An inquisition taken at the command of our lord John the King, concerning the services and customs of Cyrencester, by Richard de Muchegros and Walter de Verdun.

"To all, &c., Be it known to you all that we received an order from our lord the King, in these words :—'John, by the grace of God, &c., You are ordered to go without delay to Cyrencester, and diligently enquire what service the townsmen of Cyrencester were wont to do to Henry, our father, while that town was in his hand. Having, however, found out the truth, cause that service to be rendered to the Abbot of Cyrencester. Coming to Cyrencester, we caused the halimot of Cyrencester to be called together before us, and by the assent of the same halimot we caused to be chosen sixteen men of the elder and more lawful men of Cyrencester, who, as was said, were best acquainted with the customs and services of the town of Cyrencester, that they might tell and declare upon their oath what service the men of Cyrencester were wont to perform to King Henry, of pious memory, the father of our lord John, King of England, while that town was in his hand. These are the names of the same sixteen chosen men :—Thomas of the moor, John of Suthington, William Wrench, William Ascer, Richard Stag, Richard the son of Emma, Richard of the field, Robert Wen, Robert of the lake, Henry Wydic, Michael of the moor, Aluric Penes, Hugh Bec, Roger the son of Wymond, Gilbert Saneril, Hugh Rugge. These sixteen men in our presence, having touched the Holy Gospels, and having been sworn upon the Holy Sacrament, declared and told to us those services which the men of Cyrencester were wont to do to the above named King Henry, when he had Cyrencester in his hand, and we caused to be written down, as follows, the same services and customs which the above-named jurors declared before us.

The land of Robert Erkenbald is held on a hunting tenure ;[1] the land of Robert de Pyrie is held by escorting the treasurer of our lord the King throughout the county at his own cost, and outside at the King's cost ; the land of William Alad, 6 pence in lieu of all service ; the land of Richard Francois, 16 pence in lieu of all service ; Baldwine's land, 5 shillings and three harvestings, every day providing three men, and three haymakings,[2] and he pays toll,[3] and cannot give his daughter in marriage without the leave of his lord ; the land of Thomas Everi, Wydin Blisse,

1 He was bound to provide two or three greyhounds for the King. Inq. p. m. 36. Hen. III. 42, b.

2 The word *fenciauns*, in the county Placita for Gloucestershire, xlviii, written *fenciasons*, I have not found in the glossaries ; it is probably a local expression ; in the parallel record in the King's Bench Roll, 9 Hen. III,, the equivalent word is "fencileva."

3 *Tolnetum*, *Theoloneum*, *Thol*, seems to represent the general liability of a villein to pay toll, whether for grinding corn and malt, or for brewing beer for sale, or for any other cause. Compare Document v further on, and Registry of Worcester Priory, 14 b, 32 a, 66 a.

William atte bridge, Smyling, William Kene, Hugh Bec, Walter Lund, all these were wont to keep the King's oxen in the time of King Henry, the King providing fodder; Othulf's land used to work three days a week, and do three harvestings and three haymakings, and pay toll, and cannot without his lord's leave give his daughter in marriage; the land of William Ascer, 3 shillings, and two harvestings, and he cannot without his lord's leave give his daughter in marriage; the land of Rembald of Preston in the same way; the land of William Doggevel 32 pence, and by the same service; the land of Walter the Brazier, by working with fork and flail; (the virgate of Lest, 5 shillings, and by the same service); the land of John Sails, 4 shillings, and by the same service; the land of Elias of the Monastery, 4 shillings, and by the same service; the land of Aldwyn Claud, 3 shillings, and three harvestings, on each day providing two men, and by the same service; the land of Aluric Penes by fork and flail; the land of Walter of Ablington, 18 pence, and by the same service; Rescent's land, 3 shillings, and by the same service; Warner's virgate, 2 shillings, and by the same service; Athelgod's land, Pari's land, and Vole's land, by fork and flail; Godways land, 2 shillings and three harvestings, each day with three men, and by the same service; the land of Michael of Suthington, 5 shillings and three harvestings, each day with three men, and by the same service; the land of Richard of Campeden with fork and flail at the grange of our lord the King in the time of King Henry; the land of Ernald of Mattersdun, 3 shillings, and by the same service as the holder of a virgate; the land of William Somers, by working as he is bid: the land of Richard Wrench, 3 shillings and by the same service; Pollard's land, 12 pence, and by the same service; Everard's land, 2 shillings, and by the same service; Karri's virgate, 3 shillings, and by the same service; Haregreve's virgate, 2 shillings, and by the same service; Troubrugge's virgate, 3 shillings, and by the same service; Alwold's land, 5 shillings and 6 pence, and by the same service; Foliot's three virgates, 9 shillings, and harvestings and haymakings; Richard of the water, 7 shillings, and three harvestings and haymakings. Everyone else who dwells on the land of our lord the King is bound to do three harvestings and three haymakings, and give market toll and beer toll, and cannot, without his lord's leave, give his daughter in marriage. And when they do their harvestings, their lord is bound to feed them honorably. All who brew from corn of their own growing shall be free from toll.

"These are the customs and services of the men of Cyrencester, by the oath of the aforesaid sixteen jurors."

It will be seen at once how completely different this inquisition is from the last, though dealing with the same manor, different both in the number of tenants, and in the services and customs, and rent in commutation of services. The previous inquisition, though detailing 57 tenancies, shews them as held by 52 persons, there being five instances, as it seems, of double tenure. In the second inquisition, omitting the two free men who hold by serjeanty tenure,

and who are in all probability the representatives of the two free men named in Domesday as being on the King's land, there are 40 different tenants altogether.[1] The inquisitions are not full enough to enable us to give a certain explanation of this diminution, but one reason is apparent on the face of the document, the accumulation of land of the same class in one hand. Foliot is distinctly said to hold three virgates, while, judging from the extents of other manors, the highest amount ordinarily held by tenants in villeinage was a virgate, every virgate owing its certain services; nor is he the only one who seems thus to be holding more than one man's share of land. The commutation for a virgate, where that measure of land is here named, is either 2/- or 3/-, and judging by that standard there must have been a double or treble holding in the case of five others besides Foliot. We know too that, in the case of William of Cirencester, his holding had been absorbed into the demesne and precincts of the new Abbey, and there may have been other similar cases.

In comparing the tenures we find that the ploughing customs have all ceased, the tenants' teams are no longer used for the cultivation of the demesne; a point illustrated by a tallage roll preserved in the Record office, which from internal evidence appears to be of the year 1251.[2] In this it is stated that the Abbey has on the manor of Cirencester with its member Minety twelve plough-teams of ten beasts each. Then whereas formerly there were forty persons who held by labour service alone, there are now but sixteen who hold land on that condition, of whom only one is said to work at the lord's will, the equivalent of the service of the *operarii* or labourers of the former inquisition, and the *servi* of Domesday. The eight oxmen however will have been comparatively of a low class, judging from the description of them and their tenure in the extents of the Peterborough[3] and Worcester[4]

1 See note on the previous inquisition respecting the number of tenants bound to labour.

2 Ant. Misc. of Exch. $\frac{8,9}{1}$

3 Chronic. Petrob. Camden Society, 1849.

4 Regist. Prior. de Wigorn. Camden Society. 66-69.

manors, while the six who work with fork and flail, and whose work has no limit named as to number of days, are equally considered to be marked as villein by their labour, so that it has not been thought worth while to name the usual mark of villeinage, the necessity of the lord's leave for the daughter's marriage, and the payment of the beerseller's tax. The twenty tenants, either serfs or villeins of Domesday, whose service according to No. II had no limit but the requirements of the lord, are now reduced to fifteen. There is but one more who holds by weekly labour, working three days a week, and with him begins, therefore, the mention of certain definite hay and harvest work, with the marks of villeinage in being subject to *merchet* and *thol*. The other twenty-two have had their labour more or less commuted for a money payment; twenty, in addition to their rent, doing work in hay and harvest time, and being subject to merchet and thol, the mark of villeinage. Then come the two, who seem to be the largest holders, and who besides rent owe only definite service in hay time and harvest-tide, while the two others, who from the amount of their commutation would appear to have had but small holdings, have obtained a complete release from all services whatever. The money rent of the customary tenants has increased however from 1/5 to £3 14s. 6d. This inquisition represents what in two manors under Worcester Priory[1] is described in 1240 as "the new assize of the villeins," which as compared with the "old assize" on the same manors shews a cessation of weekly work in ploughing, accompanied with a large increase of money payments in lieu of labour.

One other point is worth notice that in every instance, even in the lowest class, it was now the land that owed the service and not the person, the condition of the whole land of the manor was that of villeinage, so that without special exemption every dweller there had to perform certain services. This appears clearly from the clause "Omnes alii, &c." in No. III, and is emphasised strongly in No. IV, where it is declared that be any persons whatever free or not, be they man or woman, if they dwell in the

1 Regist. Prior de Wigorn. Camden Society. 18, 66.

town they must do certain work in the harvest field, while a scribe of the fourteenth century has entered on a fly-leaf of the Abbey chartulary, evidently with approval as explanatory of the ordinary Cirencester tenure, the following passage which seems to be adapted from Bracton I. 11. "There are in the King's demesne certain small sokemen who hold their tenements in villeinage, and do therefrom servile works, and certain named services, who indeed are called 'ascribed to the soil,' but with free customs, because, though they perform servile works they do them not by reason of their persons, but by reason of their tenements, and so they shall not have an assize of *novel disseisin* because their tenement is a villein one though privileged, nor an assize of *mort d'ancessor*, yet they may have a writ of right according to the custom of the manor, and therefore they are called 'ascribed to the soil' because such persons enjoy the privilege that they cannot be removed from the soil as long as their life lasts." In the actual passage of Bracton this last phrase is "as long as they can pay the due pensions to whoever may be the existing holder of the King's demesne" and he adds "nor can they be compelled to hold such tenements unless they please." Although this last clause is not transcribed in the chartulary, it would seem to follow necessarily from the fact that the land, not the person, owed the service, and it appears also, that a tenant could quit his land, from the record of a suit in the manorial court of the years 1257-8, the question at issue being, whether a woman described as being of servile condition could transfer the land which she held on the manor to her daughter without the lord's consent. There was no question but that she could surrender her land to the lord if she liked. In the pleadings[1] the custom of the tenure of land on the manor is set forth, some of the local jury on that occasion, *e. g.*, William Ascer, William Ernold, and Nicholas Blisse, being either surviving tenants, or descendants of tenants who held land at the time of the inquisition III. in 1207-8. "Nullus potest alium feofare de aliquo tenemento quod sit infra libertatem dicti manerii, et si aliquis velit se dimmittere de aliquo tenemento infra predictum

1 Cir. Abb. Reg. A. 100. a, 101. b.

manerium debet tenementum illum reddere domino ejusdem manerii, et idem dominus tenementum illud cuicunque voluerit tradere ..... Nulli warantia unquam facta fuit in predicto manerio nisi per dominum manerii, et hoc sine carta et salvo cuilibet jure. Et consuetudo manerii tale est, post visum terre tenentem ponere se in inquisitionem xij juratorum nisi breve per aliquam exceptionem cassari possit."

TRANSLATION :—"No one can enfeof another of any tenement within the liberty of the said manor, and if anyone wishes to quit any tenement within the said manor, he ought to give up that tenement to the lord of the same manor, and the same lord to give that tenement to whom he will. ..... No warranty was ever given to anyone in the said manor but by the lord of the manor, and that without any deed and with reservation of anyone's rights. And the custom of the manor is as follows, that after the view of the land the tenant places himself upon the inquest of twelve jurors unless the writ (the writ of right mentioned above) can be quashed by reason of any exception."

What tenure in pure villeinage might be, where all was absolutely at the will of the lord, without control of any custom is shewn in the account given by the Monk of Abingdon of the condition of the manors belonging to that Abbey, when Rainald was Abbot 1090-1100. [1]

"The law as it affected the rustics on the Abbey manors was such, that anyone who was envious of another, or coveted his possessions could easily get him turned out of his dwelling, by letting the provost of a good bargain. Then there was another disadvantage which touched the common people. A man might have wife and sons, be prosperous in cultivating fruitful fields, and regularly pay all dues to his lord, without giving offence, yet when he died no favour might be shewn to his wife or sons, but they being turned out, a stranger, upon payment of money, might be put in possession of all the deceased man's improvements." It was a time when Bishops and Abbots where everywhere rebuilding Cathedrals and Minsters, and Abbot Rainald wished to do the same, but the Abbey was short of money for the purpose, as the men did not pay up their tithes properly. So the Abbot called the inhabitants of the villages together, told them how he pitied this hard servile condition of theirs, and promised them that if they would pay their tithes regularly, he would allow them liberty in this respect for the future. So while the men gained security of tenure, and a certain power of transference and bequest, the Abbot from that time had no lack of money for his building.

1 Hist. Man. de Abingdon, ii. 25.

At Cirencester the tenure was not in pure villeinage; there was a custom of the manor, and anyone who thought himself oppressed, or unjustly dispossessed of his tenements could obtain a writ of right from the King's court bidding the lord do justice in his manorial court, where the cause was tried before the lord's bailiff, and the rights of the matter were declared by the oath of twelve jurors chosen from the tenants. From this court an appeal would lie to the King's courts if either party thought that the jurors had forsworn themselves, upon which the Sheriff would go with a certain number of Knights of the neighbourhood, and in their presence the local jury would either avouch their former declaration and verdict, or deny it, as right might be, the jurors being liable to a penalty for false judgment, and what they thus finally declared to be the right to the land, and to be the custom of the manor, would be enforced by the King's writ.

But whatever right the lord had over the land, the men personally were free, of villein condition by origin but privileged villeins on the ancient demesne of the crown, not bound simply by reason of their birth to perform any services, but by the fact of residence or tenure; a higher condition than in the previous inquisition, where, of forty tenants, the services appear to attach personally to thirty of them, and only in ten instances to the land. This has some bearing upon the date of the new settlement. I quoted above a writ of Henry II., at the beginning of his reign, bidding his officers see that the Abbot's natives and fugitives, who had fled after the death of Henry I., were restored to him; a writ which clearly could have no reference to a state of things where the land, and not the person, owed the service. We have, therefore, here one limit of time, and the second limit is the time when Henry II. held the manor before he gave it to Abbot Richard, that is to say the limits are about 1155-87. Under what circumstances the new settlement was made does not appear, but there can be little doubt that it was for some consideration of money paid towards the building of the Abbey and its church, which was consecrated in 1176.[1] To help towards the building of

1 Benedict Abbas, i., 127.

the Abbey Church[1] was the reason why the King made the grant of the town in the first instance; when the canons seem to have laid a heavy hand upon the people, judging from Henry's writ of protection, and they probably achieved the end they wished in inducing the townsfolk to offer a large sum of money in commutation of some of the irksome burdens under which they laboured. In the process of forty years, however, either this new settlement was felt to be oppressive, and was resisted, or the canons were trying to make some new exaction, which is likely enough, for they paid in 6 and 7 John[2] £100 to the King for leave to exclude the Sheriff from entering their hundreds except for pleas of the Crown: at any rate there was an appeal to the King's court on one side or other. The inquisition we have been considering was the outcome of a quarrel of some kind, the date being fixed by the Sheriff's name, Richard de Muscegros, who was Sheriff 9 John, (1207-8).

Matters were not settled, however, by this declaration of custom. These were the times of the King's quarrel with the clergy; already, in 1206, he had, for some reason, ordered the Sheriff to seize the lands belonging to the Abbey in Gloucestershire,[3] possibly with a view to put some pressure on the Abbot, though the order does not seem to have taken effect, as there is no entry in the succeeding Pipe Rolls of profits accruing to the King therefrom, and the Abbot was clearly in possession the following year. But within the next two years the quarrel was at its height; the interdict had been proclaimed, the bishops had fled from the country, the King was laying hands right and left on the property of the Bishopries and Abbeys, and in 1209 Gerard de Athyes, the Sheriff, had by the King's direction seized the seven hundreds of Cirencester, which were appertinent to the manor. The distress of the clergy seems to have been thought to be the townsfolk's opportunity, and though the customs relating to the tenure of land were not again disputed, yet an attempt was

1 Cir. Abb. Reg., A 21 b.

2 Pipe Rolls.

3 Rot. Claus, 7 John.

made by those who were not holders of land, younger men living at home, and sojourners in the town, for trading purposes very likely, to claim for themselves exemption from all services. And this brings us to the next inquisition, which is interesting both as an expansion of the clause "omnes alii" in No. III., and as shewing us the provincial machinery of justice at work.

IV.[1] Inquisitio facta de servitiis et consuetudinibus ville de Cyrencestria per Engelardum Constabularium Gloucestrie de precepto Gerardi de Athyes, Vicecomitis Gloucestrescire.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, &c. Sciatis quod juvenes quidem de Cyrencestria domini Regis nativi, et alii quidem extranei in eadem villa residentes, quidem eorum adventitii aliquamdiu ibidem perhendinantes, querelam fierunt vicecomiti in pleno comitatu Gloucestrescire de Abbate Ricardo de Cyrencestria, qui tunc temporis fuit feodofirmarius Regis de manerio de Cyrencestria, quod idem scilicet Abbas Ricardus singulis annis tres bederipas de consuetudine ab eis injuste exigebat.

Itaque propter predictorum conquerentium querimoniam missus a dicto Vicecomite Cyrencestriam ex precepto ipsius halimotum Cyrencestrie coram nobis fecimus convocari. Veniunt autem conquerentes memorati et eandem quod prius de dicto Abbate facientes querelam.

Abbas respondit se rationabiliter prefatus bederipas ab eis querere, eo quod ipsi easdem bederipas suscipere consueverunt, et debebant domino Regi facere, et ipse bederipas illas ab eis exigebat ex parte domini Regis sic feodofirmarius domini Regis de manerio de Cyrencestria.

Requisivi tandem tum conquerentes quam Abbatem memoratum an ponerent se super jusjuratum legalium hominum de Cyrencestria. Responderunt continuo conquerentes se hoc libenter velle facere. Abbas et pro se in idem consensit.

Igitur de consensu utriusque partis electi sunt xix. legales homines de senioribus ville de Cyrencestria, qui magis inde veritatem videbantur scire, qui sacramento recognoverunt coram nobis,

1 Cir. Abb. Reg., A, 88 a

et coram Johanne Swerra de Estoll, et Willielmo Clerico de Castello de Gloucestria, et Ricardo Burgeis de Gloucestria, et Roberto filio Ercumbaldi, et Roberto de Cardunill, Jordano de Cyrencestria, Roberto Pyrie, Henrico Horcot, Ernaldo Barbast, et coram toto halimoto Cyrencestrie, et multis aliis de visneto, hanc esse consuetudinem de nativis domini Regis. Quod nativi scilicet domini Regis de Cyrencestria, dum fuerint sub virga et potestate patrum suorum, et ad manupastum patrum suorum et matrum, idem parentes eos adquietabant per bederipas quas ipsi faciunt domino Regi vel ejus firmario. Sed quo cite idem nativi liberam suam habuerint potestatem, et de ipsorum vixerint labore, et effecti fuerint sulfodes, tunc quilibet eorum tres debet domino Regi facere bederipas, et pro his tribus bederipis quilibet predictorum nativorum habebit licenciam et libertatem emendi et vendendi sine theoloneo quodcunque genus mercimonii invenerint in mercato Cyrencestrie per totum annum preterquam equos; dando scilicet omnino ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli domino Regi vel ejus firmario ij. denarios et obolum de Chepingavel. Ad hœc si quis eorum nativorum alicubi per Angliam pro aliquo recto aut aliquo casu retentus fuerit, Dominus Rex sive firmarius ejus mittet servientes ipsius cum thelinga retenti ad ipsum replegiandum et manutenendum quantum auctoritas ejus sese extendit. De extraneis inhabitantibus sive ad tempus in Cyrencestria perhendinantibus idem recognoverunt juratores hanc esse legem, quod si extraneus superveriens jacuerit in nocte sancti Johannis Baptiste in Cyrencestria, et postea ibidem moram fecerit donec dominus Rex aut ejus firmarius faciat metere segetes suas, quicunque sit ille, sive liber, sive servus, sive masculus, sive femina, tres debet facere bederipas domino Regi pro communitate videlicet ville qua idem usus et gavisus usque ad diem illum. Recognoverunt et idem juratores se vidisse quod Regis nativi de Cyrencestria, qui erant sulfodes, et extranei perhendinantes seu residentes in Cyrencestria dictas bederipas fecerunt Henrici Regis feodo eo die quo idem Rex tenuit in manu sua manerium de Cyrencestria, et quod, postea quod idem Rex Henricus dimisit prefato Ricardo Abbati villam Cyrencestrie, illas bederipas idem fecerunt Abbati usque ad mor-

tem ejusdem Regis Henrici; et postea toto tempore Regis Ricardi, et toto tempore Regis Johannis usque ad tempus hujus recognitionis eadem dicebant eos fecisse servicia.

Anno Regni Regis Johannis XI° die Sancti Petri ad Vincula.

TRANSLATION:—An inquisition made concerning the services and customs of the town of Cyrencester, by Engelard, Constable of Gloucester, by order of Gerard de Athyes, the Sheriff of Gloucester.

To all the faithful in Christ, &c.—Know ye that certain young men of Cyrencester, by birth villeins of our lord the king, and certain others, strangers, residing in the same town, some of them chance-comers sojourning there for awhile, made complaint to the Sheriff, in the full county court of Gloucester, against Abbot Richard, of Cyrencester, who at that time was the king's fee-farmer of the manor of Cyrencester, because, forsooth, he every year unjustly exacted from them, as of custom, three days work in harvest. So by reason of the plaint of the said complainants being sent by the said Sheriff to Cyrencester, at his order we caused the halimot of Cyrencester to be called together before us. Moreover, the said complainants came, making the same accusation as before against the said Abbot.

The Abbot replied that he, with good reason, demanded the said bederipes from them because they were wont to undertake them, and were bound to perform them to the king, and he exacted those bederipes from them on the king's behalf, as being the king's fee-farmer of the manor of Cyrencester.

At length I asked both the complainants and the Abbot if they would place themselves upon the oath of the lawful men of Cyrencester. Forthwith the complainants replied that they were willing to do this; the Abbot, too, agreed for himself.

Therefore, by the consent of both parties, there were chosen nineteen lawful men of the elders of the town of Cyrencester, who appeared most to know the truth of the matter, who, upon their oath, declared before us, and before John Swerra of Estoll, and William the clerk of Gloucester Castle, and Richard Burgess of Gloucester, and Robert the son of Ercumbald, and Robert de Cardunill, Jordan of Cyrencester, Robert Pyrie, Henry Horcot, Ernald Barbast, and before the whole halimot of Cyrencester, and many others of the neighbourhood, that this was the custom of the king's born villeins. That the king's natives of Cirencester, while they were under the rod and power of their fathers, and were maintained by their fathers and mothers, were held quit by their parents by reason of the bederipes which they themselves did to the king or his fee-farmer. But as soon as these same natives had their own free power, and lived by their own labour, and were become sulfodes,[1] then each of them ought to do three bederipes to the king; and for these three bederipes, everyone of the said natives shall have leave and liberty to buy and sell, without paying toll, any kind of merchandize which they may find in Cyrencester market throughout the whole

1 The word is not in the glossaries. It has been suggested to derive the word from A.S. Sulh, a pough, and Foda, food.

year, except horses, paying forsooth, once for all, at Michaelmas to the king, or his fee-farmer, twopence half-penny as chepingavel. Besides this, if any one of these natives should be detained anywhere throughout England, upon any accusation, or by any mischance, the king, or his fee-farmer, shall send his servants with the tything of the detained man to replevy him, and support him, as far as his authority stretches. Concerning strangers, inhabiting or sojourning for a while in Cyrencester, the same jurors declared that this was the law, that if a stranger coming in slept in Cyrencester on midsummer night, and afterwards stayed there till the king, or his farmer, had his corn reaped, then whosoever he were, whether freeman or serf, whether male or female, he must do three bederipes to the king, or his farmer, for the fellowship that is of the town, which the same man had used and enjoyed up to that day. The same jurors declared, moreover, that they had seen the king's natives of Cyrencester, who were sulfodes, and strangers who were sojourning or residing in Cyrencester, performing the said bederipes to king Henry's fee on that day, when the same king held the manor of Cyrencester in his own hand, and, after that the same king Henry leased the town of Cyrencester to the aforesaid Abbot Richard, the same men did those bederipes to the Abbot up to the death of king Henry; and the jurors declared that afterwards, all through the time of king Richard, and the whole time of king John, up to the date of this recognition, these men had performed those services.[1]

In the eleventh year of king John, on the day of St. Peter in chains, *i.e.*, August 1, 1210.

Whatever expectation the young men, and the strangers residing in Cirencester, may have formed of being able to break down the abbot's rights over them, they were disappointed; but their exasperation remained, and the memory of those times continued for a long while with the townsmen, so that two hundred years later[2] forty-eight men were found to declare upon oath, that up to the year 10 John, the town of Cirencester had been independent of the manor, that the burgesses thereof had been wont to have the same liberties as the king's burgesses of Wynton, and that it was only in that year that the Abbot had accroached the town to himself, claiming it as parcel of the manor of Berton near Cirencester, and had constrained the burgesses to perform native services, like the villeins and sokemen who held of the manor of Berton. How untrue the declaration was is shewn

1 In the Register of Worcester Priory, 15 a, it is said of the manor of Newenham, "Natives, when they come of age, unless they are actually working as servants to their father or mother, shall do these bederipes, and strangers the same."

2 Inq. a. q. d., 1 Hen. iv., 36.

by the two official inquisitions we have been considering, and the evidence does not rest alone on these documents, which we have simply as entered in the Abbey Chartulary. Under what circumstances the townsmen moved again does not appear, but the King's Bench Roll of 9 Hen. III., (1225), contains an entry recording the summoning up to Westminster, before the justices, of a jury of twenty-four men, knights and free tenants of the king's demesne, to declare the customary services of the men of Cirencester, and just after the plaintiffs are styled "the burgesses." An inquisition is then given identical in all but one particular with No. III., there being one more tenant named, Lest, holding a virgate, and making forty-one tenancies instead of forty; either the abbey scribe made a mistake in transcribing the earlier inquisition by the sheriff, which is most likely,[1] or, in the eighteen years, the canons have created another holding on their demesne.

Between the inquisition taken in 1207-8 and again in 1225, and the next formal declaration of the services of the customary tenants, a period of nearly 200 years elapses, during which the conditions of tenure have still further changed. Then there were still sixteen whose tenure was that of weekly labour on the land; but now that has all passed away, and every tenant holds on a money rent, with only the obligation to so many days' work in making hay and gathering in the harvest, according to the tenure, whether of a messuage or a cottage. We are left to conjecture the date of this change, but I think it will have been effected by about 1300. For in an inquisition[2] respecting the exaction of tallage it was declared, that in the year 1313 all the tenants on the manor were sokemen, by which would be meant payers of rent without weekly labour; and amongst other accusations against the canons in 1342 one article was, that "Abbot Adam had in 1308 abated the court of provostry of the said borough to which the burgesses owed suit, and made the said burgesses do suit to his court of the manor." Now the provost though in one respect the lord's officer, as

1 The real number of tenants would thus be 41 instead of 40, See previous note respecting the number of tenants,

2 Cir. Abb. Reg. A. 46 b.

directing the weekly labour of the customary tenants, was not the lord's nominee, but was elected by the men, and by them presented to the lord who confirmed their nomination, and as regards the men he was their official head and representative, the protector of his fellows. Accordingly it was to the provost that Henry II. addressed his writ[1] enjoining obedience when he first of all handed over the manor to the abbey, and from that time up to about 1300 several men are found to whom the name of provost is attached, but after that date the name disappears. I have found no trace of a court of the provost; but of course in any town's-meeting he would be their chairman, so to say, and their head, and when the weekly labour ceased, and the manor therefore no longer needed the services of the provost, it may well be that the Abbots, wishing to strengthen their own hands as much as possible in their perpetual contests with the townsmen, refused to allow them any more to elect a provost; the practical result being to throw the town in every respect under the control of the lord's bailiff and high steward, who accordingly to this day is the official head of the town, the returning officer of the modern parliamentary borough, and the chairman of any town's-meeting, which he again summons. It is an encroachment upon ancient liberties, which I think could not be established by fair presumption, but it has had now an uninterrupted usage of 570 years, and might be difficult to upset. We may take it then that this second change in the system of tenure was settled by about 1300; and when in 1370 Abbot Nicholas obtained an official copy of the inquisition No. III.[2] from the King's Bench Rolls, it was not with a view of enforcing the now obsolete weekly labour services, but to maintain his right to the universal custom of work in getting in his hay and corn; special attention being drawn by a finger pointing to the clause "omnes alii," when the record was entered in the Abbey Chartulary. These were the times of the labour difficulties which arose after the Black Death, and lords of manors were not in the humour to make any relaxation of wonted services; while it

1 Cir. Abb. Reg. A. 21. b.

2 Pat. Roll. 43. Ed. iii. 2. 14.

was important for the Canons to maintain these rights in view of the large extent of land which they held in their own hands for tillage. The climax came in the year 1400, when, after their suppression of the revolt of Richard's adherents, the townsmen thought they might do as they pleased and successfully defied the Abbot throughout the reign of Henry IV. On the accession however of Henry V. the Abbot re-established his rights, and it is from his pleadings on that occasion that I have taken the following description of the tenures of the customary tenants, which, as the townsmen made no denial, we may consider to be a true account of the settlement which prevailed from about 1300 onwards.

V.[1] In villa de Cirencestria sunt diversi terram tenentes qui tenent de predicto Abbate ut de manerio predicto, et de jure ecclesie sue et per opera nativa, redditus, servicia, et consuetudines subscripta, videlicet Johannes Gyffard, Webbe, qui tenet in eadem villa unum messuagium cum pertinenciis, reddendo inde annuatim viii. solidos ad festum sancti Thome Apostoli, ad festum Annunciationis beate Marie Virginis, ad festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste, et ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, et faciendo annuatim dicto Abbati tres fenesones ad pratum dicti Abbatis de Bradenham in predicta villa de Cirencestria per tres dies, videlicet quolibet die per unum hominem habilem spargendo, uniendo, levando, et tassando fenum dicti Abbatis cum premunitur per ministrum dicti Abbatis modo consueto, nichil capiendo de dicto Abbate pro opere dicto faciendo; et faciendo eciam pro eodem messuagio annuatim dicto Abbati tres bederipas in autumno, videlicet metendo, colligendo, ligando, et tassando blada dicti Abbatis per tres dies, videlicet in campis et clausuris ville Cirencestrie predicte, quolibet die predictorum trium dierum per unum hominem habilem, cum ad hoc premunitur, &c., capiendo inde de dicto Abbate quolibet die unum denarium et obolum sine prandio et potu. Et si braciaverit cerevisiam infra villam de Cirencestria, et cerevisiam illam exposuerit vendendam, solvet dicto Abbati de qualibet brasina ibidem vendendo exposita, pro Stakepenny, unum denarium:

1 County Placita, Gloucestershire xlviii. A.

faciet etiam dictus Johannes Gyffard annuatim sectam ad curiam dicti Abbatis apud Cirencestriam tentam de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas, necnon ad halimotum dicti Abbatis tentum infra Abbatiam de Cirencestria in quadam aula ibidem vocata Kyngeshalle bis per annum, videlicet ad halimotum tentum ibidem proximum post festum Sancti Michaelis, et ad halimotum tentum ibidem proximum post diem vocatum Hockeday; et predictus Johannes Gyffard ratione tenure sue predicte debet molere omnimoda grana et brasium suum ad molendinum dicti Abbatis et non alibi, solvendo eis inde tolnetum ibidem consuetum; et si idem Johannes teneat de dicto Abbate terras arabiles in campis de Cirencestria vel clausuris arabilibus ibidem, et obierit, dabit eidem Abbati melius animal quod habuerit pro herieto, si habeat animal, et si non habeat animal tunc dabit melius catallum suum nomine herietti; et idem Johannes placitabit in curia predicti Abbatis placita de vetito namio, debito, conventione, et aliis quibuscunque contractibus infra villam predictam emergentibus, habitis, vel factis, et in nulla alia curia nisi fecerit inde sectam suam in curia domini Regis; faciet eciam idem Johannes sectam ad visum franciplegii Abbatis tentum infra villam predictam bis per annum, quandocunque per ministros dicti Abbatis ad hoc debito modo premunitus fuerit; ac eciam dictus Johannes erit decennarius testatorum et cadaveratorum infra villam predictam quandocunque ad hoc electus fuerit per decennarios et decennam ville predicte: stabit eciam idem Johannes cum decennariis et decenna ville predicte ad quoscunque visus ibidem tenendos ad presentandum que ad visum pertinent, et si non juratus fuerit in decenna ad quemcunque visum ibidem tenendum, dabit dicto Abbati unum denarium vocatum Hedepeny: et si idem Johannes fecerit vastum sive distruccionem in predicto messuagio aut si redditus ejusdem messuagii fuerit a retro post aliquem terminum, quo solvi debet, per unum mensem, seu statum suum quem habet in eodem messuagio, seu partem ejusdem alicui tradiderit seu dimiserit sine licencia dicti Abbatis, aut si infra terminum, quem habet de dicto messuagio, decesserit, tunc bene liceat dicto Abbati in prefato messuagio reintrare, et messuagium predictum alteri dimittere tenendum ad voluntatem ejusdem, per

redditus et consuetudines, opera et servicia, secundum consuetudinem manerii predicti; et predictus Johannes eciam solvet eidem Abbati pro qualibet brasina serevisie quam fecerit infra eandem villam vendendum expositam duos denarios, et si idem Johannes fuerit electus in decennam, et non natus infra villam predictam, dabit dicto Abbati duodecim denarios de fine et licencia habenda intrandi in decennam predictam.

Then follow the names of twenty-six other tenants, holding thirty-three messuages at rents amounting to £16 8s. 10d.

Johannes Badecok tenet unum messuagium, &c., per viij solidos ij denarios, et per idem servicium preter le Stakepeny, et in loco de Stakepeny predictus Johannes Badecok solvet dicto Abbati pro qualibet brasina in villa predicta per annum facta, et vendicioni exponenda, unum tolcestre, videlicet quatuor lagenas melioris cerevisie quam brasiaverit, et quatuor lagenas secunde cerevisie quam brasiaverit predictus Johannes.

Henricus Capron tenet unum cotagium, &c., de dicto Abbati per redditum trium solidorum et faciendo eciam dicto Abbati unam fenesonam et dimidiam ad pratum, &c., videlicet per unam diem et dimidium, utroque die cum uno homine, &c., secundum ordinacionem disposicionem et limitacionem per eosdem ministros inde faciendam, nichil capiendo, &c.; faciendo eciam pro eodem cotagio dicto Abbati unam bederipam et dimidiam, &c., per unam diem et dimidium, &c., per unum hominem, &c., capiendo inde per diem de dicto Abbate unum denarium et unum obolum sine prandio et potu et pro medietate die unum obolum et quadrantem, ac solvendo et faciendo inde eciam dicto Abbati annuatim integre omnia alia consimilia opera, servicia, et consuetudines sicut Johannes Gyffard ut predictum est.

Then follow the names of four other tenants, holding five cottages, at rents amounting to £1 4s.

Et quilibet alius tenens ipsius Abbatis infra villam de Cirencestria predicta faciet separatim pro quolibet messuagio quod tenet omnia consimilia opera, &c., sicut Johannes Gyffard, &c.; et

pro quolibet cotagio, &c., sicut Henricus Capron ; præter libere tenentes feodi de Pyrye, et feodi de Erchebaud, qui non faciunt fenesones nec bederipas, nec solvunt Stakepeny et Tolcestre.

Translation.—There are, in the town of Cirencester, sundry men who hold land as of that manor, under the Abbot, in right of his Church, by "native" works, rents, services, and customs, as follows: for instance, John Gyffard, weaver, holds a messuage, with its appurtenances, by an annual payment of 8s., at the four usual terms, and doing to the Abbot three "fenesones" in his meadow of Bradenham, in Cirencester, for three days ; every day with one man able to scatter, collect, pitch, and stack the Abbot's hay, being warned in the usual way by the Abbot's servants, but receiving nothing from the Abbot for that work ; doing, moreover, to the Abbot yearly three "bederipes" in autumn, in reaping, gathering, binding, and stacking the Abbot's corn, for three days in the fields and closes of Cirencester, every day by one fitting man, being warned for the service, and receiving thence from the Abbot everyday three-halfpence, without meat and drink ; and if he shall brew beer within the town and expose it for sale, he shall pay to the Abbot for every brewing, a penny as Stakepeny ; and the said John Gyffard shall yearly do suit to the Abbot's court at Cirencester, held every three weeks, and to the Abbot's halimot held within the Abbey, in a certain hall called Kyngeshalle, twice a year, at Michaelmas and Hockeday ; and the said John, by reason of his tenure, is bound to grind all his grain of every kind, and his malt, at the Abbot's mill, and not elsewhere, paying for them the accustomed toll ; and if the same John holds of the Abbot any arable land in the fields or arable closes of Cirencester, and shall decease, he shall give his best animal to the Abbot as heriot, if he has an animal, otherwise he shall give his best chattel in the name of heriot ; and the same John, by reason of his tenure, shall plead in the Abbot's court, and in no other, all pleas concerning distress, debt, agreement, and any other contracts that arise or are made within the town of Cirencester, unless he shall have made suit concerning them in the King's court ; and the said John shall also do suit to the Abbot's view of frankpledge, held within the town twice a year, being properly warned by the Abbot's servants ; moreover, the said John shall be tythingman of the aletasters, and inspectors of carcases within the town, when he shall be elected thereto by the tything-men and the tything of Cirencester ; and he shall stand with the tything men and the tything at every view held there, to present those things which belong to the view, and if he should not be sworn in a tything at any view, he shall give to the Abbot a penny, called Hedepeny ; and if the same John shall cause waste or destruction in the said messuage, or if his rent shall be a month in arrear at any term, or if he shall have made over or let to another the interest which he has in that messuage, or any part thereof, without the Abbot's leave, or if, within the term for which he holds it, he shall decease, then the Abbot may re-enter upon that messuage, &c., and let it to another, to be held at the Abbot's will, by rent, and customs, labour, and services, according to the custom of the manor ; and the said John shall also pay to the said Abbot for every brewing of beer which he makes within the town and exposes for sale,

twopence ; and if the said John shall be elected into a tything and shall not have been born in the town, then he shall give to the Abbot twelvepence, as a fine for liberty to enter into that tything.

Then follow the names of twenty-six tenants holding thirty messuages and appurtenances at rents amounting to £16 8s. 10d.

John Badecok holds a messuage and appurtenances for 8s. 2d., and by the same service, with the exception of the Stakepeny, and in place of the Stakepeny the said John Badecok shall pay to the said Abbot, &c., for every brewing by him, in the said town, made and exposed for sale, a Tolcester ; that is to say, six gallons of the best beer which he brews, and six gallons of the second beer.

Henry Capron holds a cottage, with its appurtenances, of the said Abbot, &c., by a rent of three shillings, and doing, moreover, to the Abbot one fenesone and a half in his meadow of Bradenham, &c., that is to say, through one day and a half, with one man able to scatter, collect, pitch, and stack the Abbot's hay, according to the orders, disposition, and limitation appointed by the said abbot's officers in this matter, but receiving nothing from the abbot for that work ; doing, moreover, for that cottage to the abbot, &c., one bederipe and a half in autumn, in reaping, gathering, binding, and stacking the abbot's corn, in the fields and closes of Cirencester, every day, by one fitting man, being warned for that service, receiving from the abbot for that service three half-pence, without meat and drink, for one day, and for a half-day three farthings : and performing and doing for it also to the said abbot, &c., year by year, all and every the similar works, services, and customs, as John Gyffard, as has been aforesaid.

Then follow the names of four other tenants, holding five cottages, at rents amounting to £1 4s.

And every other tenant of the abbot himself within the town of Cirencester, does separately for every messuage that he holds all similar works, &c., like John Gyffard, and, for every cottage, like Henry Capron ; with the exception of the free tenants of the fee of Pyrie, and the fee of Erchebaud, who do neither fenesones nor bederipes, nor do they pay Stakepeny or Tolcester.

There is still, as in the inquisition of 1225, the same stated number of single tenancies, viz. : forty-one, though now held by only twenty-nine separate tenants, but the conditions of tenure are quite changed. The old weekly labour services have ceased, as mentioned above, and the money rent has increased in turn to £18 12s. There is no difference now between the customary tenants and the other tenants of the manor, though the distinction of name was still kept up ; they are all payers of rent, and all alike bound to perform certain work in the field at haytime and

harvest. This is shown also by another record of slightly earlier date. In the inquisition, a.q.d., 4 Hen. IV., No. 13, taken at the instance of the townsmen, who were praying the king that they might be allowed to have a gild merchant, it is said that with the exception of the two free tenants, W. Ercheband and the tenants of Pyrie,[1] all tenants of the manor held their lands and tenements by entry on the Court Roll (*per irrotulamentun curie*[2]), with no power of alienation or inheritance, but by surrender to the lord and re-grant at an arbitrary fine. All tenants thus holding their lands, &c., by entry on the Court Roll were bound to do for each tenement so held three fenesones and three bederipes; and the value of the customary services of the tenants on the whole manor, including Minety, is estimated at £30, this sum including, it would seem, the average annual value of the fines.

This settlement then, which I have suggested, is of about the year 1300 in its origin, was, after trial at Gloucester in 1413, re-affirmed by Chief Justice Hankford, judgment being given for the Abbot. How long it was maintained afterwards I cannot say; the existing abbey Registers[3] practically terminate with the reign of Richard II., and I have met with no general document[4] of

1 As early as the reign of John one moiety of the sub-manor of Pyrie had been alienated in small parcels; the other moiety came into the hands of the canons before the end of the thirteenth century.—Testa. de Nevil, f. 78.—Cir. Abb. Reg.—Inq. ad quod damnum, 1 Hen. IV., 36.

2 Still "Sine Carta." 3 The two volumes at Thirlstone House.

4 I have found one document, dealing with an individual, at the Bodleian. The Rawlinson MS., B. 326, is a register of presentations, &c., made by the Abbey from 1422 to the dissolution in 1539. It contains presentations to livings, grants of corredies at the king's instance, grants of pensions to those who did the abbey good service politically, appointments of proctors to attend general chapters of their order, or to episcopal visitations, appointments to offices on their manors, and four manumissions, two of serfs, and two of villeins. One of these latter—(fol. 56)—relates to a Cirencester man. Abbot William George in 1460 manumits, and frees from the whole yoke of the servitude of villenage, Thomas Snell son of John Snell of Cirencester with his offspring and his goods and chattels. Taken by itself this document would seem to point to a condition of personal villeinage; but a difference is made in the manumissions—the serfs being said to be henceforth quit and free from service due *racione nativitatis*, a phrase omitted in the manumissions of the villeins. Moreover John Snell is one of the tenants named in document V., holding in 1413 two messuages and a cottage, and the language of the documents printed above, Nos. III., IV., V., quite precludes the idea of personal villenage at Cirencester, the obligation to service being in all cases expressly laid upon the fact of residence on the manor, and not on personal condition. I conclude that this is an instance of what I have suggested was going on throughout the fifteenth century, viz.: the gradual release of individual tenants on the manor, and their descendants after them, from the old obligation to work at haytime and harvest-tide by reason of their tenure.

the fifteenth century, beyond those already quoted, bearing upon the point; but during that period, in all probability, the still remaining labour services were extinguished, either by some new general settlement with the customary tenants in a body, or by gradual commutation for increased rent, on each avoidance and the admission of a new tenant. Whichever was the case, the custom of *bederipes*, or harvest work, had ceased before 1535; for, in the summary of the abbey property[1] contained in the ecclesiastical valuation of that year, the value of the services of the customary tenants in Cirencester, in mowing grass, making hay, and other like work (*pro falcacione et fenisfactura et aliis consimilibus operibus*) is estimated at £1, and the same at Minety.

These last remains of the ancient system of labour have, however, disappeared in Cirencester by 1540. In that year a complete account[2] of all the property of the lately-suppressed monastery was sent up to the Court of Augmentation, and in it is a detailed list of all the tenants, with their separate holdings, under the various headings of Rents of Assize, Rents of Customary Tenants, Rents at the will of the lord. Twenty-nine different persons, as customary tenants, held thirty messuages, one cottage, three tenements, six shops, and a toft, with curtilages, gardens, and certain closes, at rents amounting to £29 13s. 8d., all being now said to hold by copy of Court Roll (*per copiam curie*); but there is no longer any mention of profit derived from the labour of the tenants; the large extent of land in Cirencester, formerly retained by the canons, and tilled by them, had been let to farm, and the farmers, R. Basyng and W. Berners, had no claim for labour upon the tenants of the manor granted to them by their leases.[3] The customary tenants in Cirencester have become ordinary copyholders. At Minety and Latton, however, in respect to the meadows kept in hand by the canons, along with their Cirencester granges, and afterwards let on lease with those granges to Basyng and Berners, the leases[3] distinctly grant to these farmers the right to

1 Valor Eccles. ii., 468.

2 Minist. Acc., 31-32 Hen. viii., Glou., No. 94.

3 Augment. Off. Misc. Books, No. 212, pages 108-110.

the customary tenants' labour in hay-making: "*Ac etiam omnia opera tenentium customariorum in Myntye pro faleacione et factura predicti prati . . . . . ac opera customariorum tenentium predictorum maneriorum de Latton et Esye pro falcacione et factura eorundem pratorun.*"

Accordingly, in the minister's accounts, already referred to, of the year 1540, while there is an entry under the heading of Myntye of "Labour of the Customary Tenants," no value is attached, because, as is distinctly stated, such value is included in the amount of rent paid by R. Basyng. How long these services continued at Minety and Latton I do not know; my business has been with the actual tenants of Cirencester, where, as being a trading town, such services would, as we have seen, be likely to determine earlier than in a purely agricultural community, such as Minety and Latton. Mr. G. Poulett Scrope, in his history of the manor of Castlecombe, mentions, at page 347, that as late as the year 1680, one J. Blake, besides a half-yearly rent of 3s. 4d., undertook to provide the labour of one strong man at harvest-time, for eight days.

Notices of Recent Archæological Publications.

THE LAKE DWELLINGS OF SWITZERLAND AND OTHER PARTS OF EUROPE; by DR. FERDINAND KELLER, President of the Antiquarian Association of Zürich; 2nd Edition. Translated and arranged by JOHN EDWARD LEE, F.S.A., F.G.S., Author of "Isca Silurum," &c. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1878.

Of the numerous interesting antiquarian discoveries made in recent years, none have equalled in importance the finding of the Lake Dwellings of Switzerland. Of the Bone Caves it is not our intention here to speak. Though of absorbing interest they are rather Geological than Archæological.

Most akin to the Lake Dwellings, though dissimilar in their character and purpose, are the Crannoges, found in Ireland and elsewhere. These are frequently mentioned in the annals of the Four Masters, and as early as the ninth century, but we had no practical knowledge of them earlier than 1839. The first discovered was at Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, Co. Meath, described by Dr., afterwards Sir, W. R. W. Wilde, now deceased, in the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," in 1840, and noticed in the year 1858 in the "Journal of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archæological Society.[1] It is recorded that it was plundered and burnt in 848 by Cinaedh, son of Conaing.[2] The Crannoges are not, generally speaking, artificial islands, but *clauns*, or small islets, or shallows, in the Lakes, which were probably dry in summer, but submerged in winter. These were enlarged and fortified by piles of oaken timber, and in some cases by stonework. A few were approached by moles or causeways, but, generally speaking, they were completely isolated, and only accessible by boat, and an ancient boat has almost invariably been found in connection with them. They were intended for, and used as, places of defence, and not for peaceful settlement. Though it is difficult to represent these Crannoges by a section, the annexed woodcut will perhaps give some idea of their appearance.

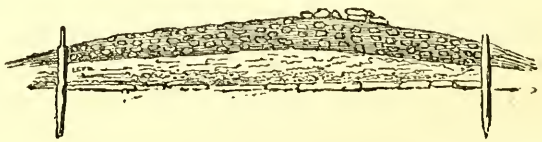


Fig. 1.

1 Vol. II., New Series, p. 138. 2 Annals of the Four Masters, Vol. I., p. 479.

Mr. E. P. Shirley remarks, in an essay upon this subject, "that it was the practice of the Northern Chieftains of Ireland to entrust their defence rather to water than to stone walls, in other words they ensconced themselves rather in islands than in castles."[1] It is manifest, however, that many of these Crannoges were occupied from a very early date, reaching back to the Stone Period, and the remains discovered shew that they continued to be used until the 15th and 16th centuries.

The Lake Dwellings of Switzerland were discovered in the winter of 1853-4, and brought under notice by Dr. Ferdinand Keller, the learned President of the Antiquarian Association of Zürich, to whom the Antiquaries of England have from time to time been much indebted for various archæological communications. Upon these interesting discoveries he has made occasional reports to his own Society, and in the year 1866, five of these reports had been published.[2] Mr. Lee, being impressed with the vast interest and importance of the subject, proposed to Dr. Keller to make a translation of his reports for the advantage of the English reader. Dr. Keller not only most kindly and most readily assented to this proposal, but, as later discoveries had been made, he suggested that the whole should be re-arranged and thrown into a more regular form, and liberally proposed to send transfers of the plates for his sixth report for the use of the translator. To these fortuitous circumstances the English Archæological public is indebted for one of the most valuable and interesting works which has issued from the English press for many years.

Having stated thus much of the history of this work, we will proceed to give some insight, imperfect as it must necessarily be, into its contents, referring all under whose notice these remarks may fall, to the book itself.

These lacustrine dwellings are chiefly built upon piles, though the manner of their construction differs. They may be classified under three heads:—

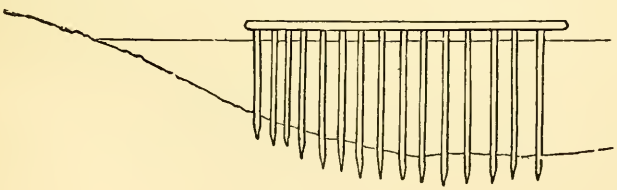


Fig. 2.

1st.—Pile Dwellings proper. In this class the piles are driven into the bottom of the lake. The dwellings are mostly situate very near to, or touching the shore, though not unfrequently, at a little distance from it; but whether close or distant they were connected with the shore by a

1 Archæol. Journal, III., 44.

2 Seven reports were included in Dr. Keller's 2nd edition, and an 8th report is now in preparation at Zurich.

stage or platform in the nature of a bridge, also built upon piles. (Fig. 2). The piles were of various kinds of wood, sometimes split, but usually the stems of trees with the bark on, and sharpened either by the action of fire or by stone hatchets, or celts, but in later times by tools of bronze or iron. They were driven into the bottom of the lake, sometimes close together, sometimes in pairs, sometimes somewhat wide apart, generally in regular order, but occasionally in apparent confusion. In all cases the heads were brought to a level, and then the platform beams were laid upon them, which, in some cases, were fastened by wooden pins, in others by mortices, or central hollows cut in the heads of the vertical piles, occasionally cross beams were joined to the upright piles below the platform to support and steady the structure, either forced in between them or fastened by what is called *notching*, or in some other way. The platform lying on the top of the piles appears in many cases to have been of the most rude construction, consisting merely of one or two layers of unbarked stems lying parallel to each other, but in other cases split boards were used with greater approach to accuracy. In certain cases, in which, perhaps, from the nature of the bottom the piles could not be firmly fixed, a large quantity of stones were brought in a boat and cast into the water between and about the piles, by which, acting as wedges, the piles were steadied and made firm. (Fig. 3).

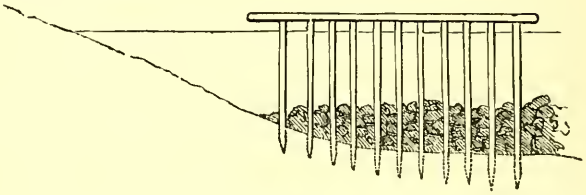


Fig. 3.

2.—FRAME PILE DWELLINGS. Another method of making the substructure has been observed, though rarely. The piles, instead of being driven into the mud of the lake, had been fixed by a mortice and tenon into split trunks of trees lying upon the bottom of the lake; but as regarded the platform treated as before described. (Fig. 4).

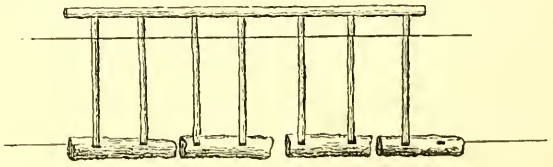


Fig. 4.

3.—FASCINE DWELLINGS. Other buildings were very peculiarly constructed. Instead of being built upon piles, they were erected upon layers of sticks, or small stems of trees, built up from the bottom of the lake until the structure reached above the level of the water, and upon this the platform was laid. (See Fig. 5). In this method piles were used, not to

Fig. 5.

support the super-structure, but to keep the fascines together, and in their proper places. These *fnscine dwelliags* are found chiefly in the smaller lakes, and are considered to belong to the stone age.[1]

Of the super-structures there is not much to be written, for they have almost entirely perished. There have, however, been found some indications as to the construction of the dwellings of this class, from which it would appear that upon the main platform, which we have described as resting upon the piles, was laid a floor consisting of mud, loam, and gravel, well beaten or trodden down, and upon this the building was erected. Small piles, or stakes, formed the framework of the huts or dwellings, some of which have been found projecting considerably above the platform. Probably, in some cases, especially in the fascine erections, fresh piles were driven in for this purpose, which did not reach to the bottom of the lake ; but in the regular pile-building they would be merely piles of an extra length. Resting upon the platform, and firmly forced in between the piles, were found boards fixed vertically in the nature of skirting-boards of the huts or rooms, and above this the structure was composed of wattling, covered with a considerable thickness of loam or clay. Whether or not these huts were single, or whether they were divided into two or more rooms, there is at present no evidence to shew, but every hut had its hearth, and it is probable from the almost universal prevalence of clay weights for weaving, that most, if not all of them were furnished with a loom. From the remains of straw and reeds found in every lake dwelling, it seems almost certain that the huts were thatched with these materials, and probably the softer kinds of straw and grass were used for beds.

These singular dwelling-places were occupied from the most remote antiquity by groups of families, probably by whole tribes, who supported themselves by fishing, and the practice, more or less rude, of agriculture. The latest of them are believed to have been abandoned as early as the first century. They have been classified, according to the relics found in them, under the three periods known as the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron Ages. It is usual to attribute any objects agreeably to their character, found in tumuli or elsewhere, to one or other of these periods, but for several reasons the lines müst not be too sharply drawn, for not only do

1 Mr. Lee communicated to the Royal Archæological Institute, on the 7th July, 1865, a very interesting account of a fascine dwelling found in draining a peat-moss, formerly a small lake, called Egelsee, at Niederwye, near Winterthur, to the north of Zurich. -Archæological Journal, xxii., 334.

the periods referred to vary at different places according to the degree of civilization attained by the people—for some are even now in the Stone age—but they overlap each other at either end. There is no distinct line of demarkation. One period slides, as it were, into another, though each is very distinct in itself. It may be necessary to give this caution to the general reader.

Having made these introductory remarks, we will proceed to describe in the order we have mentioned, some of the settlements discovered, and a few of the objects found, in each class. This description must of necessity be most imperfect, for it is impossible to abstract, in an at all effective manner, the very varied contents of a work already as concise as the highest literary skill could make it, nevertheless, we may be able to convey to the reader, in a slight degree, a notion of the very interesting objects discovered, and of the amount of civilization to which the people had attained who, with the very simple implements at their command, could manufacture objects of so much skill and so perfectly adapted to the uses for which they were intended.

THE STONE AGE.—It will be proper, in the first instance, to notice the settlement at Ober Meilen, both because it is one of the earliest in date, and was the first found. It was discovered in the winter of 1853-4. In consequence of a long drought and other circumstances, the water in the lakes had become lower than it had ever been known before. The settlement in question is situate on the lake of Zürich, and the inhabitants, availing themselves of the low state of the water, determined to reclaim from the lake a certain portion of land. This they enclosed with walls, and were filling up the enclosure with mud excavated from without the walls, when, in making the excavation, they found a great number of stags' horns, and various implements, exclusively of the Stone period, consisting of objects of stone, bone, horn, wood, and baked clay. The settlement had been built upon piles, as before described, which consisted of trunks of oak, beech, birch, and fir, split into four or six pieces, about six inches through, though there were a few whole trunks. All the piles discovered in the first excavation were more or less charred, and had been sharpened at the lower end by means of fire or by the stone celt.

Professor Linth Escher gives the following geognostic sequence of the beds :—

"In the places excavated, the upper bed, from one to two feet thick, consisted of yellowish mud, such as we see everywhere accumulated in the shallow indentations of the lake when not much exposed to the action of the waves. The numerous rounded pebbles found in it had, doubtless, been brought down during the floods by a small brook which empties itself into the lake. In this bed the workmen observed no traces either of piles or animal remains.

"The second bed, from 2 feet to 2½ feet thick, consisted also of sandy loam, but from the decay of a great quantity of organic matter in it, it was

coloured black. It was in this bed—which for convenience we call the Relic bed—that the heads of piles were found, as well as the antiquities which are about to be described.

"The third bed, which is probably of considerable depth, consisted, like the first, of undisturbed mud, or loam, such as that found everywhere at the bottom of the lake. It contained the lower part of the piles, but no traces of human art or of animal remains.'

In February, 1858, the water being again very low, a further examination was made by the late Colonel Schwab, of Bienne, and further discoveries were brought to light. The objects found were precisely similar in character to those already mentioned. Among the many stone celts found were several of clear nephrite, which appears to have been found more plentifully here than elsewhere ; but the most important and remarkable discovery was one well-preserved bronze celt, shewing that this settlement had continued in existence down to the bronze period, and this was further confirmed by the fact that some of the piles had been brought to a point by means of a sharply ground instrument. A single bronze armilla was also found, and a great quantity of bones—amongst them those of the stag, roe, wild goat, wild boar, and fox, besides those of domestic animals, such as the cow, sheep, and dog.

The arrangement of the piles could not be very distinctly traced. They were found to be quite rotten, and as easily cut through with the spade as the soil itself.

We will now give examples of some of the objects discovered at this settlement.[1]

Stone Celts and Stone Chisels.—These tools are said to be the most abundant of all early stone implements, and are to be found all over Europe. A very large number was found at Meilen, differing considerably both in form and material. The usual form of the stone celts was that of a wedge. If the cutting edge spreads out, they resemble hatchets, if they are of uniform breadth, they resemble chisels, others are roundish, or oval, in section, and approach the form of a cylinder, and in some the one side of the cutting edge is concave and the other convex, so as to have the appearance of gouges. Some are 8 inches long, and the smallest only one inch, and while the weight of the largest is 1½ lbs., that of the smallest, of the same kind of stone, is only about ¼oz. *Plate* V., *fig.* 1, 2.

The material is as various as the form. Many of the stones are not of a kind found in situ in Switzerland. Some, e.g., nephrite, or jade, derive their origin not in Europe. Some of them bore evidence of the manner in which they were manufactured, but into this we cannot enter.

The mode of hafting these tools is interesting. All found at Meilen originally were hafted in pieces of stag's horn. A piece of the requisite

1 A collection of relics from Meilen, Robenhausen, and other Swiss lakes, was exhibited at the Royal Archæological Institute by General Lefroy, on 4th March, 1864 — Arch. Jour., xxi., 166.

length and thickness was cut out of the stock of the horn, clearly with no other instrument than a stone celt. A hole was then worked out at one end, wide and deep enough to receive the small end of the celt; the other end was cut into a four-sided tenon or plug, evidently intended to be set in a shaft, a stick, or a club. *Plate* V., *fig.* 3.

No specimen of this instrument in its complete form was found at Meilen, but a perfect one was discovered at Robenhausen. *Plate* V., *Fig.* 8. The labour and skill required to fit these tools with accuracy must have been very great. For different forms see *Plate* V., *figs.* 4 & 5. Stone hammers were also found at Meilen: see examples—*Plate* V., *figs*, 6 & 7. In the middle, or thickest part of the latter, is a circular helve-hole of the same width throughout, which is highly polished and bored so accurately that no workman of the present day could do better. Flint tools of various descriptions were also found, such as knives, saws, and small flakes with exceedingly fine and sharp edges. A number of arrow heads, of very good workmanship, were also found. *Plate* V., *fig.* 9. Grinding or sharpening stones, awls, or piercers, etc.

Corn Crushers and Mealing Stones.—Under this head are classed certain roundish stones, and with certain hollows and flattened surfaces, *Plate* V., *figs.* 12 and 13.

All doubt as to the use of these stones was removed by finding a stone with a circular cavity, into which the former fitted.—*Plate* V., *figs.* 14.

These were used for crushing corn before hand-mills were invented. In Livingstone's Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi, (pp. 543, 544) are representations of mealing stones and corn crushers in actual use, identical with those found in the Swiss lakes.

Of *Bone Implements* we have various fine instruments, such as needles for knitting, pins for the hair or for fastening garments, *plate* V., *figs.* 10, 11, and various sizes of awls, with or without an ear.—*Plate* V., *figs*, 17, 17, 19, 20, 21.

Other fine instruments were found made of boars' teeth and bears' teeth.

Of utensils made of clay, a considerable quantity was found though, unfortunately, no whole vessels were secured, but some fragments of pottery were discovered sufficiently large to show the form of the vessel and mode of manufacture. There were two kinds of pottery—one very coarse and the other better; all was hand made.—*Plate* V., *figs.* 15, 16, 22, 23.

Lake of Pfäffikon.—On this lake two settlements have been discovered under the peat formation which now encompasses it—one at Robenhausen, and the other at Irgenhausen. We shall confine our attention chiefly to the former. Of this it is said: "We learn more about the domestic arrangements of the inhabitants of these early dwellings from the settlements buried in peat moors, than from those where the remains are found in the shallows of our lakes. For, although in the latter we can readily

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obtain an idea of the number and arrangement of the piles, and probably of the extent and divisions of the whole settlement, and some portion of the relics are more easily secured, yet, on the other hand, the excavations in the peat moors enable us to ascertain facts which bear upon the original conditions of these abodes, their developement and their destruction. By systematically excavating the settlements in the peat moors, we not only obtain more correct information as to the construction of the pile work, the form, mode of erection, and size of the huts, but we even get a glance into the interior. Wonderful to relate, we can walk over the very flooring of these dwellings, abandoned thousands of years ago. We see before us their hearths and their various household utensils. We obtain information as to the industrial habits of the people, the nature of their food, and the mode in which they were clothed. It is only by investigation of these singular remains that we can hope to extend our knowledge, as to the peculiar object of these settlements, and the degree of civilization attained by their inhabitants."

The lake dwelling of Robenhausen is situate in a peat moor on the south side of the lake of Pfäffikon, and, as regards settlements so circumstanced, it will rank in interest among the first. There have been three successive settlements on this spot; the first, soon after its establishment, would appear to have been destroyed by fire. The buildings were again re-erected in a more substantial manner, and endured for a considerable period, as shown by the greater accumulation of peat beneath them; but again they fell a sacrifice to the flames, a calamity to which low huts formed of wood and straw must have been peculiarly liable. That this was the case is evident from the burnt heads of the second series of piles. A third time it was re-instated, and it would appear that, eventually, on this third occasion, it was voluntarily abandoned. Thus we have here a series of three relic-beds, belonging to the successive settlements, in regular order, each imbedded in peat, into which the implements, &c., dropped when the floors gave way.

There is one great advantage attending the examination of this settlement. It is almost wholly on the property of one individual, Mr. Jacob Messikomer, who devotes his time and powers, and gives himself up with energy and perseverance to its scientific investigation. Hence the success which has attended his researches.

In this settlement, in addition to the usual objects of stone, bone, wood pottery, &c., were found considerable quantities of wheat, barley, flax, string, woven cloth, &c., and it was a curious fact that objects were found together that had a mutual relation. In one place a large quantity of wheat and barley was found, together with bread; in another spot these articles were found, accompanied by burnt apples and pears; in a third, flax and its different manufactures; and in a fourth, articles of the same kind were found, together with the earthenware cones used for the loom. Thus showing that the two first-named localities were storehouses of different kinds of grain, and that the corn was there bruised and ground, and afterwards either boiled in pots to a kind of porridge, or made into

bread or cakes, without separating the bran, and baked upon hot stones, under glowing embers, a practice still followed by many cottagers in the West of England. The third and fourth localities indicate a large store of flax; it was sometimes found in skeins or hanks, sometimes spun in the form of thread or cord, and plaited or woven into nets, mats, and cloth, "just as in a linen merchant's warehouse."

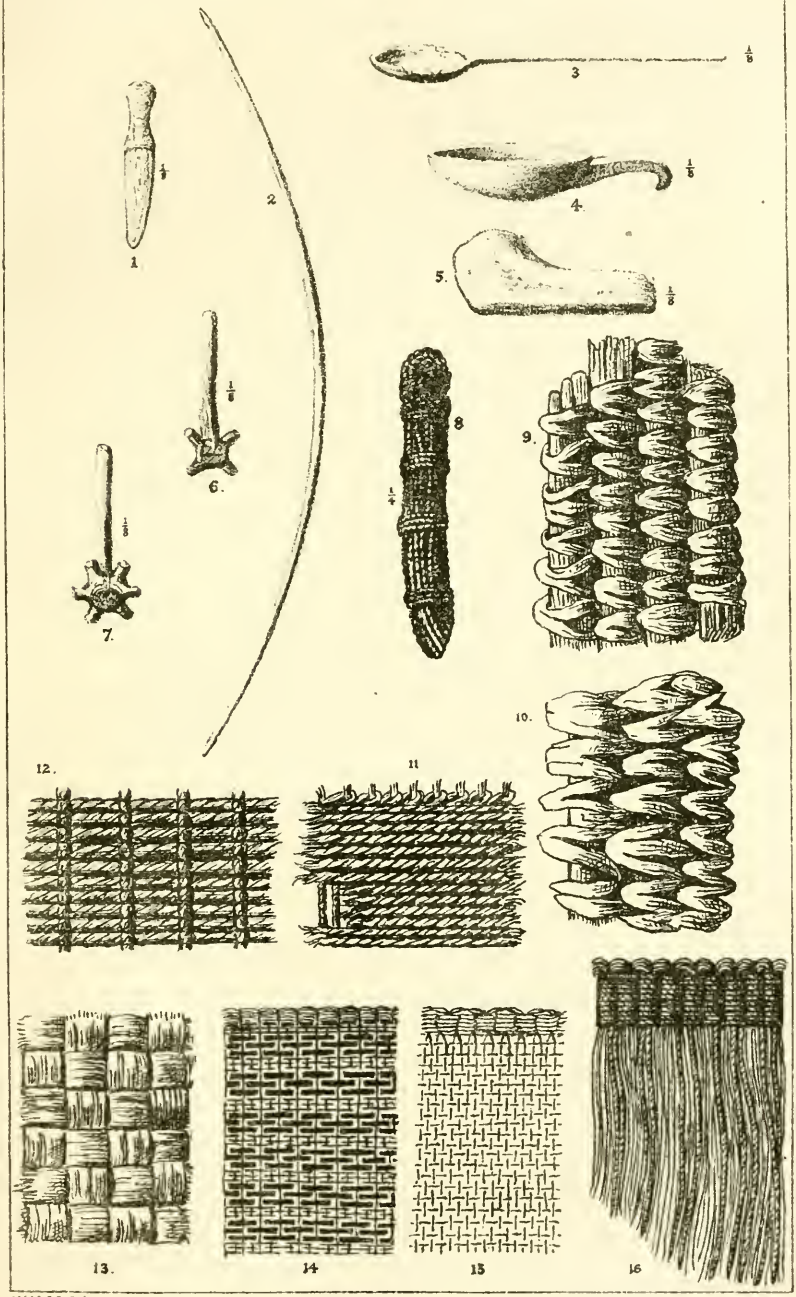
Very few things of stone or bone where found in the peat where the above-mentioned articles were discovered in such abundance, as the chemical nature of the peat is not only to bleach, but to disintegrate the stone, and to dissolve the bone entirely. The few bone implements, which were at all in a good condition, were found in the lower deposit, lying at the top of the shell marl. Charcoal was found over the whole area, arising, doubtless, from the destruction of the settlement by fire.

A series of observations led Mr. Messikomer to the conclusion that in a space, 150 feet by 40 feet, there were six separate huts standing close to each other, each provided with a separate hearth, mealing stones, heaps of corn, woven and platted cloth, stores of raw flax, together with the clay weights belonging to the loom, leading to the conclusion that each was occupied by a distinct family, having about it all the requisites for preparing food and for making clothing. The stalls for the cattle were distributed between the huts, as disclosed by the constituent parts of the peaty mud, varying in depth from two to ten inches, and composed entirely of the excrements of cows, pigs, sheep, and goats, together with remains of the litter they had used, which, in the case of cows, consisted of straw and rushes, and, of the smaller animals, of sprigs of fir and twigs of brushwood.

It is remarked that in this settlement the indigenous fauna was more largely represented than in any other. Bones were often found in heaps of from 50 lb. to 100 lb. Scales of fish appeared everywhere in great abundance, and there were stores of water chesnut (*Trapa Natans*), and apples dried for winter use. In one place 300, or half-a-peck, were found together. Quantities of beech-nuts and acorns were also met with, probably intended as food for the swine. In one place about 8 lbs. of bread were found, equal to new bread weighing about 40 lbs. Of stone fruit there were more sloe than cherry stones. The seeds of rasp-berries, elder-berries, and black-berries were also met with.

We will now proceed to notice a selection from the very remarkable objects found here.

Among the articles of wood we may direct attention to a knife of Pl. yew—VI., *fig.* 1; ladles, or dipping vessels—Pl. VI., *figs.* 3 and 4; a club of ash wood, in which is fixed a socket or hafting of stag's horn, containing a celt—Pl. V., *fig.* 8; a yew bow, 5 ft. round the curve, and notched at both ends for fastening the string—Pl. VI., *fig.* 2. Two objects of considerable interest, supposed at first to have been used for churning of butter, but now considered to be fishing implements. Similar articles are used at the present day by the fishermen on the banks of the Arve. The practice is to cast night lines across the river, fastened at each end to stones sunk in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the water, to which are fastened short lines with baited hooks. Early in the morning these lines are drawn up by instruments, similar to those here figured, made of the top of a young fir tree, with the branches springing from the main stem like radii. A cord is fastened at the upper end, and some weight is fastened to the stem to make it sink; it is called an "arpion." This instrument is of great interest in the history of civilization, for it proves that implements, which have their origin in the most remote antiquity, are still in use for the same purpose, not only on the Arve, but they are found to have been employed on the Usk, within living memory, in recovering floating objects brought down the river in time of floods—Pl. VI., *figs.* 6, 7.—Fig. 6 in the margin represents a modern "arpion,"

Fig. 6

Another object of considerable importance is shown—VI., *fig.*, 5. It is a last, or rather a form or pattern, according to which leather was cut for making coverings for the feet, the soles of the sandals with the straps belonging to them. The object is imperfect, but its use is very clearly apparent.

Among the numerous objects brought to light by the examination of the remains of the lake dwellings, none seem to be of greater importance, as illustrating the degree of civilization possessed by their inhabitants at an extremely remote date, than their manufacture of vegetable fibre, flax, &c. It is somewhat remarkable that specimens of this class have been chiefly found in the remains of the settlements of the earlier periods. Their extraordinary preservation has been attributed to the fact that at the time the huts were destroyed, these textile fabrics fell burning into the water, and were quickly covered with the mud of the lake. So great is the importance attached to this branch of the subject by the author, that he has devoted a whole chapter to its consideration. We cannot, however, follow him into the interesting details he has given of the developement of this branch of industry, as practised by this ancient people, nor of the degree of perfection to which they brought it, but must content ourselves with submitting for the inspection of our readers illustrations of a few examples of the specimens recovered. The variety of the patterns is very great, and apparently they have all been produced by very simple means. A ball of string not in the least burnt—Pl. VI., 8. A variety of mats, platted out of strips of bass, the most simple kind is represented—Pl. VI., 12. Other and more complicated pattern may be seen.—VI., 9, 10.

Of the working of flax, there are many examples. There is thread, cordage, and rope half-an-inch in diameter, as perfect and well executed as any which could be made at this time; fishing nets of various meshes as well wrought. Of platted cloth there are various examples; one is made by a number of small cords lying close to each other, and may have been used for a mat, a covering, or as material for clothing.—VI, 12. Another specimen, according to the views of those versed in such matters, is also considered as a kind of plaited cloth, though, from the regularity

of its make, it might be thought to be woven. The string forming the woof is concealed under the cross strings, ranged close together by which it is entwined. This firm and fine material was quite adapted for garments, Pl. VI., 11. The next are specimens of woven cloth, though no cloth, closely woven, has yet been found.—Pl. VI., 14, 15. And there is a piece of fringe used for trimming garments of very good design.—Pl. VI., 16. At Irgenhausen were found pieces of cloth, embroidered with a pattern by a needle, and a kind of pattern like checked muslin (fig. 7).

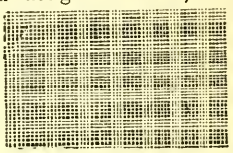

Fig 7.

It is also remarkable that at this station were found crucibles, or melting pots, formed of clay mixed with horse dung, a combination which is now used for moulds in which brass is cast. Most of them had been subjected to a very strong heat. All at the edge are said to have a drossy coating, coloured like a deposit of copper, and in some places like variegated copper ore. In three cases there were lumps of melted bronze, and, in one instance, a piece of pure unmelted copper. No bronze article was, however, found in the settlement, though there is evidence that it was merging from the stone into the bronze age.

It appears from the above that the founders of the settlement were perfectly well acquainted, not only with the cultivation of wheat, but also with that of flax, and they knew also how to manufacture the last material —by spinning, platting, and weaving—into string, thread, rope, nets, and cloth of various descriptions. The settlers were, in early times, acquainted with copper and bronze, for traces of working these metals have been found in the lower beds of the stone age settlements, nevertheless no arms or implements of bronze have been discovered.

A comparison of these relic-beds at Robenhausen shews that there was no important difference, nor any striking improvement in either the material or form of the implements, and that the potter's art remained the same as to workmanship, shape, and ornamentation, and it may be concluded that the civilization of the settlers underwent no material change during the many centuries of the stone age. And it may be further remarked that what is stated of these settlements is equally true of all the others, and they are many, which have been discovered of that period.

THE BRONZE AGE.—We must now advert shortly to the remains of the settlements of the *Bronze Age*, treated of in Dr. Keller's interesting volumes, and inasmuch as Möringen is one of the most important of these settlements, we will select that as the basis of our remarks. It has been carefully investigated by M. Muller, Dr. Von Gross, M. E. Van Fellenberg, the late Col. Schwab, Mr. Jenner, and others, who have reaped a rich harvest from its relic-beds. It is situate in a small bay in the Bieler See, in a very sheltered spot, and was connected with the land by a bridge nearly 1000 feet long and 13 feet wide. This bridge, like the settlement itself, was built upon piles chiefly of oak, and now projecting from the mud from 15 inches to 2 feet. In the years 1871 and 1872, in consequence of exten-

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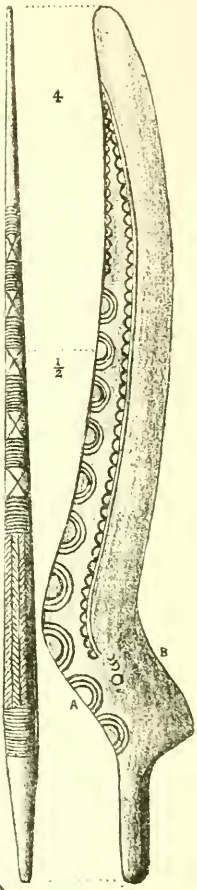
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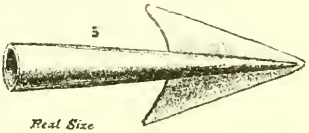
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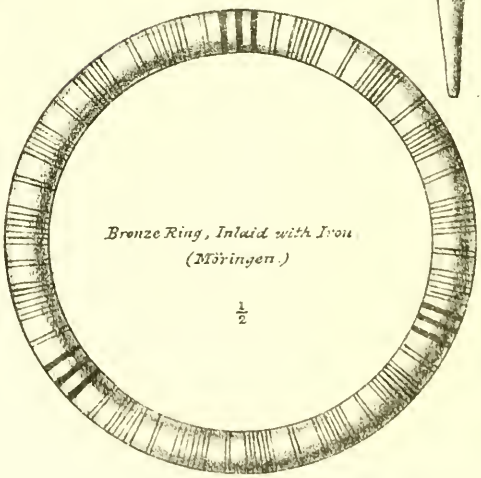
6
Bronze Ring, Inlaid with Iron
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sive drainage operations, the water had fallen about five feet, leaving the settlement not more than three feet below the surface of the lake. This led many fishermen to forsake their usual vocation, and adopt the more lucrative employment of collecting relics and selling them; but when the government had established its right to the foreshore, this wholesale removal of the antiquities was stopped, and Mr. E. de Fellenberg was commissioned by the government to superintend the excavations. The relic-bed was from 8 to 20 inches in thickness, and yielded an immense quantity of specimens, chiefly of bronze (some few of iron), stag's horn, wood, and stone. Some of the bronze specimens were so bright and perfect that they seemed to have recently come from the founders' workshop, being remarkable for the absence of all patina, and for their brilliant metallic lustre.

Among the arms found at Möringen, was a very beautiful bronze sword, covered with a deep blue patina, and in excellent preservation. The sword is 26 inches long, including the hilt, the grasp of which is only $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long. The blade and the hilt, which were cast separately, were fastened together with two rivets at the cross-piece. The blade is a little notched, or cut away on each side just below the hilt; it then becomes a little narrower for a third of its length, and then again wider till within 11 inches of the point, which is blunt. It was evidently a weapon more used for striking than stabbing. The blade is ornamented on both faces with three pairs of raised lines, running parallel to the cutting edge, and uniting at the point. The hilt, which was cast in a single piece, is short and massive. The body is like a flattened cylinder enlarged in the middle, the two extremities widen so as to form at one end the cross-piece $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide over the whole, and at the other end the terminal button. The detail ornamentation it is unnecessary to describe.—*Plate* VII., 1. With this sword was found in the relic-bed an object which had evidently formed the extremity of the scabbard, and which exactly fitted the point of the sword. Other swords, of the same and of different types, were also discovered. One was an iron sword, fixed in a bronze hilt, and in form and ornament very closely resembled some of the bronze swords. In this respect it was of great interest, as showing, on the one hand, that the spirit of imitation has been the same in all ages, for, just as at the end of the stone age, bronze celts were made after the model of those of stone, so also towards the end of the bronze age, when the new metal, iron, became less rare, it took the place of bronze for making utensils and arms, without any notable change in the manufacture. Daggers were much rarer than swords—one specimen had a triangular and very sharp blade. Lance heads were more plentiful; one weapon, which was evidently used as a lance, was made out of the broken piece of a sword, about 7 inches long, set upon a wooden pole or staff.—Pl. VII, 2. A spear or javelin-head, VII., 3. Only five arrow-heads were found at Möringen—one of flint, and the rest of bronze.—Pl. VII., 5.

Of implements, celts and sickles of bronze where numerous. About 40 knives were discovered, but few are worthy of notice; *Plate* VII., *fig.* 4 is a good specimen. 200 hooks were found at Möringen, exactly like our modern hooks. Among personal ornaments was a gold finger-ring,

and among the most curious and interesting objects are bridle bits. The possession of domesticated horses by the inhabitants of the lake dwellings has been doubted, but the discovery here made is conclusive evidence that they had horses and used them. Their horses, however, would seem to have been of small size, as the mouth-bar is scarcely more than 3½ inches in length, whereas, in our modern bits, they vary from 4¾ to nearly 6 inches in length. A very remarkable example is figured LXX., I. It was very cleverly made, being cast in one piece without any trace of soldering, and is exceedingly like the bits now in use. The mouth-bar is little more than 3½ inches long; the cheek-bars are of a semi-circular form, 4¾ inches long, and each of them has three fixed rings for the reins. Other bits were found destitute of mouth-bars altogether, but possessing an opening into which a mouth-bar of wood or of horn might be introduced.

Iron was used for ornamental purposes, which indicates the value set upon it. It was found inlaid in swords, and a ring has been recently found in which it is applied in the same manner; the ring is four inches in diameter, and the body is encircled with numerous lines. The triplets drawn black in the sketch consist of inlaid iron.—Pl. VII., 6.

THE IRON AGE.—This brings us to the last period, or the *Iron Age*. In illustration of this, we will select the settlement of Marin in the lake of Neuchâtel. The original character of this settlement would seem to have been similar to those already described. Like them the dwellings were built upon piles, but very few, if any, objects of the stone or bronze periods have been discovered. Whatever in the earlier settlemen were made of stone, bone, or bronze, in the specimens found in the settlement at Marin are formed of iron. These specimens consist of weapons, of agricultural and domestic implements and utensils, and of ornaments.

The most important of these are the swords, the character and date of which have received from the author very careful consideration. He traces, in the first place, the topographical distribution of similar swords, and points out that Mr. Albert Jahn[1] attributes the whole of them to the old Helvetian population, whereas the Baron von Bonstetten assigns them to the German races, who invaded Helvetia in the fourth century.[2] The author observes, however, that a treatise has appeared which contains the result of explorations in the fortifications of (Valise) the ancient Alesia,[3] well known in the works of Cæsar, in the ditch of which a great number of similar weapons, if not identical in character, have been discovered, evidently the relics of the struggle which took place there between the Romans and the Gauls.

The swords found at Marin are about 50 in number, some with, and some without, sheaths. They vary in length from 2 ft. 9 in. to 3 ft. 6 in.

1 Antiquarian and Topographical Description of the Canton of Bern, 1850. p. 500; and Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande, for 1854, p. 135.

2 Notice sur les Armes et Chariots de Guerre découverts à Tiefanau, près de Bern, en 1851.

3 In the "Revue Archéologique," by M. Verchère de Reffye, under the direction of the late Emperor of the French.

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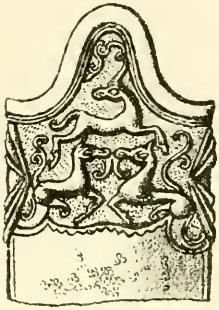

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The spike for the hilt is rather broad at the bottom on the average, 5¼ in long, terminating in a round knob, and supposed to have had wooden handles. The swords are thus described :—"The blade immediately under the handle varies in breadth from 1¾ in. to rather more than 2½ in., and narrows very gradually towards the end, with tolerably straight edges, terminating in a point formed of two curves united ; it is sharp on both sides, flat, and about a line and a half thick. No guard is found on any of the swords, but instead of it there is a bell-shaped strip of raised iron, which forms the junction between the spike and the blade.

"The sheath is of exactly the same form as the blade, and consists of two pieces of iron plate, one of which is about half a line wider than the other, round which it is folded so as to form an edge or raised border. This flange, or border, does not extend to the lower part of the sheath, where the edges of the plates are kept together by two narrow cross-plates, or strips of iron, which unite at the top of this portion of the sheath in an ornamental cross-band. This piece of iron is soldered on one side, and turns round the other in a kind of clasp, or cramp, also ornamented, Pl. VIII. 1. In order to give greater firmness to the lower part of the sheath, the strips, or plates, on each side of the point swelled out slightly, and were sometimes ornamented, and the end was rather thicker. Possibly this lowest part of the sheath may have been a separate piece of iron, and the swollen appearance may have arisen from the two strips over-lapping each other and being soldered together. The next side to the wearer is smooth at the lower part, but between the opening and the sword belt loop, which was riveted on with two nails, or sometimes on the loop itself, another ornamented cross-band is placed as a kind of Cramp. On the opposite side of the sheath the corresponding part has an engraved, or raised line ornament.—Pl. VIII., *figs.* 1, 3, 4.

"The ornamentation on the sheath is very various. There is, however, no trace of damascene work, by inlaying strips of gold and silver, which is found in Roman, and more especially in Frankish, ornaments. In one case, on a dotted ground, three fantastic animals, like roes, are represented running, and all their extremities terminate in foliated ornaments.—Pl. VIII , 2. Similar ornamentation has been found and published amongst the figures on northern antiquities, especially in Irish and Anglo-Saxon miniatures. The design is very interesting, as the animals strikingly resemble those on Gaulish coins found with them.

The general appearance of the swords leads to the conclusion that they were not the work of any isolated military smith, but the production of larger workshops, where there was a division of labour and every practical appliance, and this view is confirmed by the maker's marks found upon several of the weapons.

The spear and javelin-heads are just as remarkable as the swords. The workmanship is exceedingly good, and shows that the smith possessed a thorough knowledge of his craft, and a high degree of artistic skill. The

weapons are of every variety of shapes, which proves that the makers did not work after any particular pattern, but each according to his own taste. That figured at Pl. VIII., 5, and there are other similar ones having portions cut out, either on the outside or in the middle, near the ridge, in form of the segment of a circle, deserve the greatest attention, as they differ in form very widely from similar weapons of barbaric or classic antiquity; at the same time they very closely resemble three of the lance-heads found at Alesia, figured by M. deReffye, and here reproduced (fig. 8). This is another indication that the weapons discovered

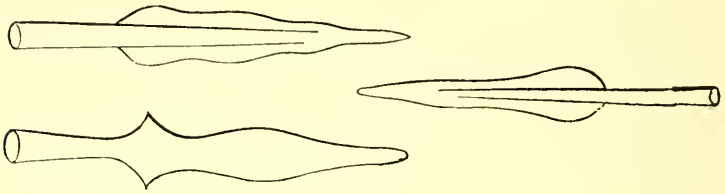


Fig 8

there and those found at Marin belonged to the same period, and to the same people. After a very careful consideration of the subject, the author is of opinion that the settlement at Marin has not been so fully examined as to furnish sufficient data upon which to settle the question at issue, and therefore its determination is deferred, until the locality shall have undergone a more searching investigation.

We must now close our remarks upon these very interesting and valuable volumes, earnestly commending them to all who take an interest in the subject.

HISTORIC WARWICKSHIRE; its Legendary Lore, Traditionary Stories, and Romantic Episodes. By J.T. BURGESS. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.

The members of this society cannot fail to take an interest in any work treating of the history, traditional or written, of the adjoining counties, and especially of those situate in the north, with which the history of Gloucestershire, from the earliest period, as a portion of the ancient kingdom of Mercia, has been closely interwoven.

The "Heart of England," as Mr. Burgess delights to call the midland shire of which he writes, is rich in folk lore and superstitious myths and traditions, and possesses many sites of legendary and historic renown. We need only allude to Kenilworth and Coventry, Guy's Cliffe and Warwick, Dun Church, and the Forest of Arden, with which many romantic stories are connected. The elucidation of them could not have fallen into more competent hands than those of our author. Neither credulous nor sceptical, and having a good knowledge of history and antiquities, he has been enabled to remove the chaff from the wheat, and to point out where the tradition is inconsistent with established historical facts, and must consequently be rejected. The stories are agreeably written, and with much poetic feeling.

EPITAPHS OF THE CATACOMBS; or, Christian Inscriptions in Rome during the first four centuries. By Rev. J. Spencer Northcote, D.D., Canon of Birmingham. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1878.

The desire to perpetuate the memory of relations and friends who have departed this life, by means of inscriptions on their tombs, would seem to have been a natural instinct of Man from the earliest knowledge of the art of writing. Pagans of all periods, and Christians from Apostolic times, have, in the same way, striven to preserve from oblivion the memories of those they love.

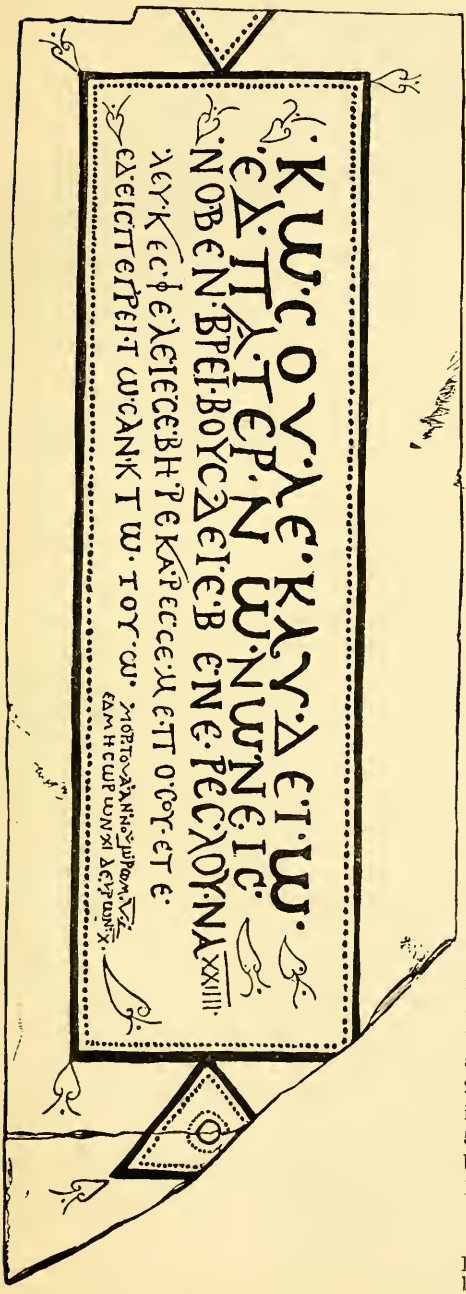
The largest collection of Epitaphs in the world must have been that which formerly existed in the Catacombs of Rome. It is believed that, originally, they numbered more than 100,000, and it is supposed that scarcely one seventh of that number now remain. We cannot enter upon the causes of these irreparable losses, but in the beginning of the present century, Pope Pius vij, recognising the fact, and the duty of preserving what remained, committed to that celebrated scholar, Gaetano Marini, the task of collecting, as far as possible, all the inscriptions which had passed into private Museums, or had been otherwise dispersed. Not much, however, was effected, and Gregory xvj. made a further effort, in the same direction, by the formation of a Christian Museum, under the superintendence of Father Marchi, but the space which was allotted to the purpose was soon filled with monuments of classical antiquity, and it remained to the late Pope, Pius ix., to found another museum, which should be exclusively Christian, and whilst to Father Marchi was assigned the task of collecting and arranging all objects of painting and sculpture: to the Commendatore De Rossi, was committed all that concerned Christian Epigraphy.

De Rossi very zealously entered upon his duties in 1842, and has succeeded in bringing together a very large collection of epitaphs, which, by great labour and skill, he has brought under some arrangement, and he has undertaken to publish a complete collection of all the Christian inscriptions of the first six centuries now remaining in Rome. Of the immense value and importance of this work, both archæologically and historically, it is impossible to speak too highly, and it is to be hoped that the life of the gifted author may be spared to complete his stupendous design.

In 1846, Pius ix. adopted this work as a public measure, and undertook to pay the expense of the publication; but it was not until 1864 that the first volume was issued, and this volume deals only with the chronology of the various inscriptions. This is, doubtless, a very important part of the subject, for ancient inscriptions, like ancient documents, can only be admitted as historical evidences after their own authenticity and antiquity shall have been conclusively established. The genuineness of the inscriptions in the Catacombs no one can doubt: many of them are, however, undated, and of these the chronology has to be established by internal evidence, by the names of the consuls which appear upon them, etc., and this requires the utmost care. It is now fourteen years since the first volume of De Rossi's great work was issued, but it is understood that the second volume is ready for the press, and it is hoped that the political changes which have taken place in Italy, by which the property of the Camera Apostolica, from which the expense of the publication was to be defrayed, has passed into the hands of the Italian Government, may not retard the progress of the work. Meanwhile, Dr. Northcote has done a most important service in the publication of the work before us, the inscriptions in which circumstances have been chiefly collected from De Rossi's publication.

Having made these few introductory remarks, we will proceed at once to describe some of the ancient inscriptions brought by Dr. Northcote under the notice of the English public. He limits himself to those of the first *four* centuries. We shall treat of them simply as historical evidence of fact and of their archæological value as illustrating Christian symbolism, leaving others to draw from the facts such theological deductions as they justify.

Dr. Northcote points out that one of the most remarkable features which will be observed in inspecting the Lapidarian Museum in the Lateran, is the extraordinary difference which exists in the style and character of the inscriptions. Whilst some form most beautiful specimens of monumental engraving, others consist of the most wretched scribbling; and this remarkable difference, he says, does not arise so much from the superior excellence of some as from the extreme badness of others. In some, and those the most ancient, the letters are not cut at all, but are



written in red or black paint, or scratched, as it were, with a nail; and in some cases even on the soft mortar by which the grave was closed; pointing to the fact that they were not studiously and formally written, but, as it were, involuntarily scratched by the sorrowing survivor whilst he lingered by the newly closed grave. Another remarkable circumstance is the curious mixture of languages which many of the epitaphs exhibit. Not only is Latin and Greek mingled in strange confusion — the epitaph beginning in one language and ending in another— but more frequently the Latin language is used written in Greek characters. Here is an example which simply reads :—

CONSULE CLAUDIO ET PATERNO NONIS NOVEMBRIBUS, DIE VENERIS, LUNA XXIV, LEUCES FILIÆ SEVERÆ CARISSIMÆ POSUIT ET INSPIRITO SANCTO TUO MORTUA ANNORUM VL. ET MENSIUM XI. DIERUM X.

That is to say, it is a monument to the memory of a dear daughter, Severa, who died on Friday, the 5th November, and the 24th day of the moon in the year 269, aged 55 years (or more, probably 6) 11 months, and 10 days.

Here is another example, of the year 345, most beautifully written in

Greek characters, but the first line only consists of Greek words :—

CΩKPATHC AEIMNHCTOC ΦIΛO (θεοS)
ΔHΠOCEITOΛC Θ K ΩKTB AM (αυτοω)
ANNOVC TPIΓINTA IN ΠAKE.[1]

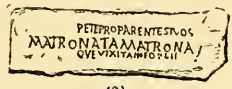
The use of the Greek language in an epitaph is considered a note of its antiquity : De Rossi thinks that it creates a presumption that it was written before the middle of the 3rd century. And Dr. Northcote remarks that the prevalence of the Greek language in the more ancient Christian epitaphs agrees with the theory of Dean Merivale, that the Primitive Church at Rome consisted mainly of Jews and Greeks.[2] In this way Dr. Northcote accounts for the fact that only one Hebrew inscription has been found in the Catacombs. He supposes that the Greek language was, in the first centuries of the Christian era, not only commonly spoken in Rome—and, indeed, throughout the whole civilized world—but that the Christian religion was first preached by Jews, among whom Greek had long before taken the place of the vernacular language.

We need not enter upon the question of the chronology of the inscriptions, upon which Dr. Northcote gives a very interesting chapter. It is thought that there are now about 15,000 belonging to the first six centuries, of which about 1500 are marked with the dates which determine their age. Of these, however, proportionately few belong to the first *four* centuries, to which period the volume before us is limited, but the undated epitaphs have, with great patience and skill, been assigned by De Rossi to particular periods, by comparing their details and their diction and style with those of others whose date is established. The earlier inscriptions of this era, like those of our own, are more simple and more pure than the later ones. The sorrowing friends seem to have had no heart to record the worldly honours of the dear departed one, or to speak of his wisdom, his talents, his virtues, and affections. In many instances the memorials simply give the name of the deceased, mentioning neither the age nor date of death ; but upon inscriptions of this class are found symbols of various kinds, and especially those which possessed a secret or mystic meaning. They all exhibit a strong faith in a future life, and a deep conviction that the division between this life and the next does not suffice to break the bonds of affection, nor interrupt the interchange of kindly offices. They believed most entirely, in the Communion of Saints, and firmly held that all the faithful, whether living or dead, were, in Christ, members of that one Mystical Body, that all were knit together by the strongest chains of love, and were benefitted by their mutual prayers—prayers of the survivors for those who had been removed, and prayers of the faithful departed for those who were left behind. This is illustrated by numerous examples. We give a few :—

1 Socrates, ever to be remembered, beloved by God, buried on the 25th of September, when Amantius was Consol (A.D. 345). He lived thirty years. In peace,

2 St. Paul in Rome.

(2)



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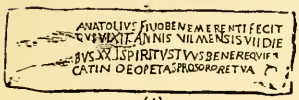

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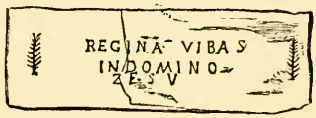

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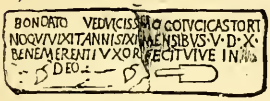

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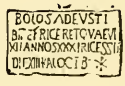

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Such notices as the following are very common :—*Vivas in Christo—in Domino—in pace—cum sanctis*, and the like ; *Pete pro nobis—pro parentibus—pro conjuge—pro filiis—pro sorore—refrigera, in refrigerio—spiritum tuum, Deus refrigeret, Deus tibi refrigeret*, and the like ; and the souls of the deceased are not unfrequently called *spiritus sancti ;* but not a single instance of this occurs in dated inscriptions after Constantine.

It will be remarked that in the above examples there are some which, whilst retaining much of the sobriety of the phraseology of the earlier formulæ, give the age of the deceased and some simple laudatory expressions. These are, somewhat later, and, still later, in some instances the day of death or burial (*depositus*), are stated. After the period of persecution ceased, the inscriptions differed very widely from the simplicity and modesty which marked the more ancient ones, and remind one of the offensive epitaphs which too often disfigured the memorials of the dead in the last century. In these are stated the condition in life of the deceased, the day of his death, and especially that of his burial, to which are added laudatory epithets in a very inflated style, and the mystic symbols are superseded by representations of the cross, the monogram of St. Constantine, etc.

2 To dear Cyriacus, sweetest son, mayest thou live in the Holy Spirit.

3 Matronata Matrona, who lived a year and fifty-two days. Pray for thy parents.

4 Anatolius made this for his well-deserving son, who lived 7 years, 7 months, and 20 days. May thy spirit rest well in God. Pray for thy sister.

5 Regina, mayest thou live in the Lord Jesus.

6 To my good and sweetest husband, Castorinus, who lived 61 years, five months, and 10 days ; well deserving. His wife made this. Live in God.

7 Bolosa, may God refresh thee, who lived 31 years ; died on the 19th September. In Christ.

In a most interesting chapter on Pagan inscriptions, it is pointed out that the early Christian epitaphs differ from the Pagan less in what they state than in what they omit. For example, the customary salutation, Di Manes, is not found, and nothing is said about provision having been made for the burial of other members of the family; they are silent as to the birth, parentage, the country, and profession, and social rank of the deceased. At first, also, they seldom make mention of the relationship existing between the deceased and the person setting up the memorial, which is seldom omitted by the surviving friends of a Pagan. The Pagan inscriptions are also very unlike the Christian in the utter hopelessness which they exhibit. There is no looking forward to a future life. The grave is the end of all things, "the everlasting home." This is also manifested by the eternal farewell conveyed by that one word "*vale*," or the impassioned repetition of it: *vale, vale, dulcissima, semper perpetua vale.* These epitaphs, however, place in a very pleasing light the domestic relations of Pagan families, and reveal the existence of a great warmth of natural affection between husbands and wives, parents and children, etc., sometimes exhibiting a rebellious resistance to the dispensations of Providence in the removal of members. For example, a young lady is made to speak in her own person: "I lift up my hands against God, who took me away, though I had done no harm, at the age of twenty." And a boy invites all who read the memorial of his sad fate, cut off in his tenth year, to "Curse the harshness of his lot." A child is made to complain that it has not been allowed to live beyond seven months (? years) "defrauded of my eighth year."

With respect to dogmatic allusions, the author very justly remarks that anything like a formal exposition of the whole Christian Creed could not in the circumstances have been expected, nevertheless some allusion to the objects of Christian Faith might be anticipated in so large a number of inscriptions, and in as large a number of instances as might have been expected the epitaphs shew a belief in God, in Christ, and in the Holy Spirit. As early as the beginning of the fourth century there is an epitaph in memory of a Bishop of Calabria, which begins with the mention of all the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity:

IN. D. D. ET SPIRITO SANCTO, JULIANO EPP.

That is, in God, the Lord (which is, of course, the special title of Christ), and the Holy Spirit.

Further into this subject we shall not enter, nor shall we specially notice two very interesting chapters on the bearing of the inscriptions on points of discipline and practice, and as illustrative of the moral and social condition of Rome in the first century.

We now come to a class of subjects, the ancient authenticity of which has been questioned by a very competent authority, Mr. J. H. Parker, who draws a very wide distinction between the *inscriptions* and the *paintings*. He admits that the former are unquestionably of the dates of the interments, but he says the paintings are not; that, having fallen into

decay, they were restored by the Popes in the 8th and 9th centuries. Into this controversy we shall not enter, but we may remark that Mr. Parker evidently writes under the smart of some strictures made by Dr. Northcote on Mr. Parker's "great work," "On the Archæology of Rome." It is not unlikely that some of the paintings in question—Mr. Parker says three-fourths—were restored at the time he states, but it is to be hoped that the restorations of those days were more faithfully performed than the so-called "restorations" of ours; at all events the paintings harmonise in feeling and expression with the inscriptions, and though as works of art not possessing so much interest as they would if they had remained in the condition in which they were left 500 years earlier, they are scarcely less valuable as illustrations of Christian faith and symbolism.

The introduction of symbols in monumental inscriptions, either as ornamental adjuncts, or instead of the Greek and Latin alphabets, is of special interest to the Archæologist. These symbols were of three classes: *Religious*, or such as had reference to Christian doctrine; *Civil*, denoting the trade or profession of the deceased; and *Nominal*, being simply a pictorial rendering of the name. The first class is by far the most numerous as well as the most interesting and important. One of the most frequent of these was the Good Shepherd, in which our Lord is represented as bearing a sheep on his shoulders.

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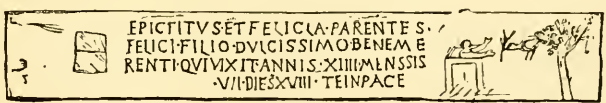
(9)

This symbol is very constantly used in every description of Christian art, and, as is well observed, is peculiarly appropriate upon memorials of the dead, signifying that they are housed for ever within the heavenly fold, secure from all fear and danger, carried home upon the shoulders of the Good Shepherd. Next to this symbol, Noah's Ark is one of the most frequently used. It is always treated in a very conventional form, representing a single individual standing in a small box, with a dove,



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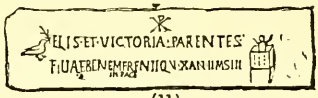
8 Zosimus to Adolius (? Anatolius) his sweetest son, who lived twenty years, ... months, three days.

9 Aurelius Castus [who lived] eight months. Antonia Sperantia [made this] for her son.

10 Epictitus and Felicia; his parents made this for their sweetest, well-deserving son, Felix, who lived fourteen years, seven months, eighteen days. May Christ receive thee in peace,

bearing an olive branch, flying towards him. Sometimes it is the figure of a woman. The ark typifies the church, and the survivors of the person commemorated intend by this symbol to express their sure faith and



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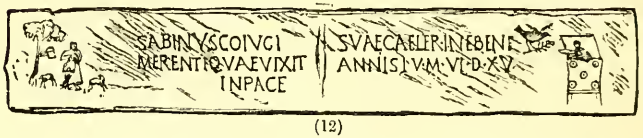

(12)

hope that their departed friend, having been received into the ark of the church by baptism, and having lived a faithful member of the same, had died in the peace of God, and had now entered into His rest. The dove with the olive-branch was equivalent to one of the most common written epitaphs: *Spiritus tuus in pace*; or, in another formula: *Spiritus tuus in pace et in Christo.*

(13)

The dove is also represented in various ways, all easily understood.

The second class of symbols, or those indicating trades or professions, are far less numerous. The hammers and chissels shown on figure 8 would show that the deceased was a sculptor. We find a bellows and anvil, representing a blacksmith (fig. 14), and a saw and axe, a carpenter. De Rossi was present in 1857, when a stone was dug out of the cemetery of Pretaxtalus, which had closed a Christian grave 1500 years before, and on it, instead of a name, was a representation of a whole case of surgical instruments (fig. 15), and de Rossi states that he has seen the same case of instruments on an ancient monument in Palestrina, to the memory of one P. Ælius Pius Curtianus, who is expressly called a *medicus*.

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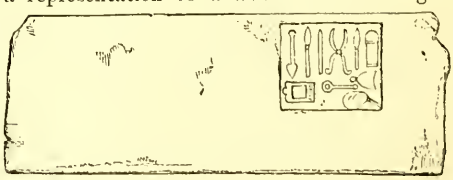
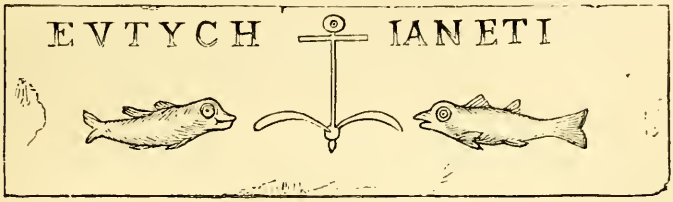


(15)

11 Elis and Victoria, her parents, to their well-deserving daughter, who lived two years, three months. In peace.

12 Sabinus to his well-beloved wife Celerina, who lived fifty-five years, six months, d fifteen days. In peace.

The third class, or symbols representing names of persons, occurs, perhaps, still less often ; but the figure of the anchor is frequently found on the graves of persons called "Elpis" or "Hope," or names of the same significance in Latin or Greek ; *e.g.*, Spes, Elpis, Elpidius, Elpizusa. It is sometimes of a form resembling a cross, the foundation of Christian hope, and in others united with a fish (fig. 16). The symbolism is here



(16)

very striking. The fish represent Christian souls swimming towards the cross of Christ, the centre of their affections, and, moreover, illustrative of the text that "When He was lifted up upon the cross He would draw all men unto him." Both these symbols are found on many gravestones, and engraved on gems. In one instance the figure of a little pig is used instead of the name of a child called *Porcella*. Other instances might be quoted.

We can cordially commend this learned and interesting book to the attention of our readers. Canon Northcote treats the subject of the doctrinal and practical teaching of the epitaphs, with admirable candour and fairness, and entirely free from a party feeling. The work is very fully and carefully illustrated, as shown by the woodcuts, in *fac-simile*, some of which we have been courteously permitted to use in this notice. We are glad to add that this is the precursor of a new edition of a larger work upon the same subject, published by Dr. Northcote and Mr. Browning, in 1869 ; to the issue of which we shall look forward with no small interest.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS.—Domestic Series, 1639-40. Edited by William Douglas Hamilton, Esq., F.S.A., of H.M. Public Record Office and the University of London, 1877.

The documents in the State Paper Department of the Record Office are very various in character—political, social, and religious—and illustrate in a very vivid and remarkable manner the state of society at the periods to which they respectively relate ; hence it is needless to say they are of inestimable value to the biographer, and to historians both general and local.

The volume referred to at the head of this notice is the 15th which has been issued relating to the reign of King Charles I., upon which troublous period the documents abstracted therein throw much light. Twelve of these volumes were edited by the late eminent historian, John

Bruce, F.S.A., and after his lamented death the continuation of the work was intrusted to Mr. Hamilton, who had previously been Mr. Bruce's official assistant. As the political crisis advances, the flames of which, though smothered and held in check, had for a very long while been gathering strength, the papers become of deeper importance, and of the many volumes which have been issued none are of more exciting interest than that recently published under the editorship of Mr. Hamilton.

We might select from this volume many extracts relating to Gloucestershire, illustrative of its condition, socially and personally; some relating to the clothing trade have been already noticed in this volume; but perhaps none are of greater concern than the vivid account of the proceedings for the election of a Knight for the Shire to the Short Parliament. The abstract of a letter upon this subject was printed some time ago in the Gloucester Journal, but it is of so much importance that we have obtained through the courtesy of Mr. Hamilton, a verbatim copy from the Record Office, and now submit it to our members.

March 24. *Bishop's Palace in Gloucester.*

79. John Allibond[1] to his reverend and much-honoured friend, Dr. [Peter] Heylin, [a prebendary of Westminster and] chaplain in ordinary to the King's majesty, at his lodgings in the Little Cloisters, in Westminster, this be delivered.

Noble Dr.—I am yet sensible that I am in debt to you for your last letter, and the better to disengage myself I make bold to apprehend Fortune's curtesye, which lately hath presented me with the opportunity of observing what now I shall commend to your notice and acquaintance; the Passages of the choice of the knights, as far as it hath hitherto passed, for Gloucestershire. To omit all those that were *avidi sed minores*. The general accord of the gentry, who, you know, usually sway the plebeians, at the last assizes pitched upon Sir Robert Tracy and Sir Robert Cooke, lately in the High Commission, about Tetbury Church, the one a Cotswold gentleman and the other of Highnam, near Gloucester, and in behalf of these two *signatæ tabulæ, dictum feliciter*, there passed faithful promises on all sides, nor was there anything else expected but mutual assistance from one to the other. The day designed for the election was Wednesday last, and on Tuesday night appeared fair troops on both sides. Sir Robert Tracy, then not well at ease, and under physicians' hands, building upon former agreement, and not so much as dreaming of opposition, made bold to favour himself, and kept at home; but in his behalf, and that the election might not want state, credit, and countenance, divers gentlemen, of the former accord, presented themselves with their tenants and retinue, amongst whom Mr. Dutton was a chief. On Wednesday morning, when it was generally expected that the election should be a matter of ceremony and formality and be both speedily and unanimously despatched, suddenly there was set

[1] John Allibond, matriculated at Oxford from Magdalen College, 7 June, 1616, aged 19, as of Co. Bucks, son of a minister. He was probably the elder brother of Peter Allibond, who matriculated from Lincoln College, 12 March, 1623-4, aged 17, son of the Rev. Peter Allibond, of Chomes, co. Bucks, and was nominated one of the Proctors for the University of Oxford in 1640. John Allibond was, perhaps, the Bishop's chaplain at the time he wrote.—Ed.

up, and forcedly, as he pretends, one Mr. Stephens, of Eastington, a man questionless well-deserving, for opposing of the ship-money, and somewhat suffering in that cause, for he was put out of the commission of the peace, together with an opinion of much zeal towards the zealous, so much endeared to the vulgar, that now he is cried up with no less ardour and fervency than if he had been lately dropped out of the clouds for the purpose. Sir Robert Tracy's side proceeded *bonâ fide* according to the tenour of their former agreement, and in the second place nominate Sir Robert Cooke, who had either charmed his party so coldly as that he had left them indifferent to any but himself, or else, which is vilely suspected, had given some underhand intimations for his partizans otherwise to dispose of themselves, whether this way or that way I cannot resolve, but this I am sure of, that I myself both saw and heard some of his tenants busily stickling for Stevens, a shrewd presumption that their leader hath been either languid or double in his dealing. *Hem fidem Puritanicam!* By this means Sir Robert Tracy brought at the first day 800 voices (plus, minus) to Sir Robert Cooke, and, as a justice of peace informed me, received not 20 back again. These proceedings madden and exasperate Dutton and his accomplices, and the next day down comes Sir Robert Tracy in person, though indisposed for travel, and what before was thought would prove nothing but matter of form, beginnes now to grow to an eager competition and strong canvass. Tracy's side beginnes to challange Cooke of infidelity and fœdifragye, and Dutton spares not to tell him openly, that for his sake he would never more trust any man that wore his hair shorter than his ears. He, on the other side, professes his sincerity, and that he had dealt with them as far as they would be dealt withal. A likely matter that so many flexible dispositions, as came to be at his devotion, should yet reserve themselves for a man who pretended, till that very instant, no inclination to stand. *Hem fidem Puritanicam!* Another, Stephens, of Sodbury, not long since high-sheriff, and one of no mean power, and truly fair esteem, but a favourer of the pretending-holy-side, being likewise charged by Mr. Dutton of ungentleman-like dealing, in violating his promise and deserting the compact to which himself had formerly subscribed, had nothing to excuse himself, but that upon a rumour that Sir Ralph Dutton would show himself in the business, he had altered his determination; but being further urged why, in regard Sir Ralph did not at all move, he did not adhere to his former engagement, he could not so fairly satisfy that objection, nor salve his wavering, as an entire man ought to have done. *Hem fidem Puritanicam!* Take one relation more:—Sir Maurice Berkeley, who lives towards Bristol side, had, as the rest, subscribed to the confederacy for the two Sir Roberts, and intended to have appeared with a band of 500 men; whom, accordingly, he had prevailed withal to be in procinctu, in case there should be any need of their service; not long before they were to make their repair towards Gloucester, a letter comes to Sir Maurice Berkeley from Sir Robert Cooke, intimating that there was like to be no opposition, and therefore he might, if he thought fit, spare both his own pains and prevent the attendance of his company. He imbraces the liberty, and discharges his followers; they now, as they conceive themselves at liberty, are dealt withal by some of Stevens his

friends, and woonne to his side. This, perhaps, might be a mistake, and not malice, in Sir Robert Cooke, but as all his actions are now looked upon by the other side with a not-excusing eye, it is apprehended not an oversight, but a practice of treachery; and if so, *Hem fidem puritanicam*. Not to trouble you with the taunts and dicteria, banded between the heads of the sides, as that Sir Robert Tracy should profess his scorn to be webbed and loomed, in relation to Stevens, his pedigree, fetched not many generations off from clothiers; and Mr. Dutton should complain that never was any man so over-reached by weavers; and received answer, that weavers might well enough rank with shepherds, and that like the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, they have divided the country into Cotswold shepherds and the Vale weavers; to omit, I say, this boys'-play, I believe, in earnest, we shall have but bad blood between the gentry, and scarce find for the future other ways than a divided bench of justices. And, as Sir Robert Tracy is apprehensive of foul dealing and undermining practices against him, so, if we may believe the other side, he has not been backward to make his revenge by some not so direct courses; for, having the advantage of the high sheriff his power, who is his near kinsman, he hath, as they object, not only put back divers of Stevens his voices, though, I believe, that the rather a delay than a denial, but also rejourned the court, and continued the election to Winchcomb, a poor beggarly town, but equally well-situated for the appearance of the rest of Tracy's strength, and inconvenient for the repair of Stevens his. This course Stevens protests against, and, as I hear, intends to remedy himself by complaint in Parliament. The election here continued from Wednesday till Saturday, in the afternoon, at which time Tracy rode on the fore-horse by above 100 voices. What they have, or what they intend to do further in the business I, as yet, know not; but it is conceived that the election will not be pronounced nor returned as long as a voice for Sir Robert Tracy is to come in, and yet the general cry goes altogether for Stevens.

"I could now close, and it is high time so to do, but that I hold it worthy your notice to signify what manner of men they were that first rolled this unwilling stone, and egged on this now eager man, Mr Stevens, to attempt this place and design. They were principally men of our own coat, a pack of either deprived, silenced, or puritanically affected men. There were these whom I observed for most earnest sticklers in this so holy a cause: (1) Fox, of Tewkesbury, a deprived but wealthy man, who had two sons, the one was named Help-on-High, the other Sion-build, brought up at Edinburgh, in Scotland; (2) Geery, of Tewkesbury, the canny mumping fellow with the red head, whom you sometimes knew of Magdalen Hall, likewise suspended and deprived; (3) Marshall, of Elmore, who lives under Sir William Guyse, a great favourer of the side, an honest man; but one that leans towards that side, and if he do practise conformity, I believe it is more out of awe than any love; as do also (4) Stansfield, a lecturer at Rodborough; and (5) Guilliam, of Hatherly, a very popular man, and of parts sufficient, only he is guilty of three small crimes—pride, covetousness, and contention; (6) Prior, of Sandehurst, an ordinary law-driver, and strongly puritanical; (7) Baxter, of Forthampton,

a forward young man, a man that spares not, as I was informed by a judicious scholar with whom he held the discourse, to excuse, if not to justify, the Scots in their holy proceedings; (8) Whynnell, our learned lecturer at Gloucester, who the last summer made an expedition into Scotland for Bachelor in Divinity, but was fain to return as wise as Waltham's calf, and so still continues; (9) Jones, of Tidrington, [Tithrington ?], a man in whose very face a man may read schism and malice; (10) Workman, the younger, a man likewise suspended and deprived of a cure that he had; and, as I am informed, (11) Stubbes, Sir Robert Cooke's chaplain, of the right strene, *cum multis aliis*. For laymen, two especially of the town were observed to be active, both strong and rank Puritans, Nelmes and Edwardes; and these and the like are the hands that have builded as much of this Troy as is up. I have been the more punctual in these relations, because I have heard it observed by a judicious man that there is a kind of running underhand canvass of this nature, the greatest part of the kingdom over; which, if it be true, we are like to have a brave Lower House of it, when such instruments shall be choyced out, that if their hearts were known, affect nothing more than to hold the King's nose to the grindstone and ruin the Church. But it is time now to leave you to your more serious affairs, unless you will have the patience to understand that this day the burgesses for Gloucester are to be chosen. There are four competitors:—(1) Alderman Singleton, who indeed hath very well deserved of the town for his care and industry in his mayoralty, at what time the sickness was in Gloucester; (2) Alderman Pury, sometimes a weaver, now an attorney, whom, I think, nothing hath so much endeared as his irreverence in God's house, sitting covered when all the rest sit bare, whose cause is earnestly promoted by the aforesaid Nelme and Edwardes; (3) Mr. Lenthall, the Recorder; but he, they say, is chosen for Woodstock already; and (4) Mr. Harry Brett. Our clerks for the Convocation are not chosen till the Thursday before Easter. The candidates are:—(1) Dr. Baber, the chancellor; (2) Dr. English, one of our prebends; and (3) Dr. Temple. I must confess that I, my unworthy self, had much encouragement and earnest solicitation to have stood up; but, for some private reasons, I was not willing to apprehend the love nor condescend to the desires of my friends. There is talk also of an underhand canvass for one Mr. Mew, rector of Eastington, where Mr. Stephens is patron. He was sometimes a lecturer in London, and, I believe, stands affected as most lecturers do; but, as they brew, so let them bake. And now I must want paper as well as modesty if I proceed any further; having, therefore, left myself only room enough to remember my observance, and to assure you that my prayers shall ever be continued to God for the health and welfare of you and yours, I leave you to his protection and rest.

"Your ever-observant poor friend to be commanded,

"Jo. Allibond."

[Endorsed as "Received 28th March, 1646," 3 pp.]

STUDIES OF THE TIMES OF ABRAHAM, by the REV. HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS, Member of the Society of Biblical Archæology, etc. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons.

The discoveries made in Egypt, in Nineveh, in Babylon, and elsewhere in the East, within the time of the present generation, has given such an impetus to historical research as has never been previously approached. Among the foremost in the field have been our own countrymen. It will be sufficient to name Wilkinson and Rawlinson, Layard, and the late Mr. George Smith, whose recent premature death is a loss to the civilized world. Not only, however, have we been astonished by the wonderful sculptured monuments excavated at Nineveh, and by the prisms and tablets found at Babylon, but by a diligent, patient, and persevering study by learned Assyriologists, of the numerous inscriptions brought to light they have been made to unfold their mysterious secrets, and very greatly to enlarge our knowledge of the ancient world—the languages—the history—the religions—and the manners and customs of "the nations, peoples, and tongues." But this is not all. In a most remarkable manner have these discoveries—in their results—illustrated and added fresh confirmation to Holy Writ. Truly is it said there is nothing hidden under the sun.

In the valuable and interesting book before us, after a careful study for five years of the subjects and inscriptions which have been discovered, and of the works of the numerous able scholars who have written upon the subject, Mr. Tomkins has undertaken to illustrate the times of the patriarch Abraham, and, though his work extends only to the narrative contained in two or three chapters of the Book of Genesis, he has brought to our knowledge a vast amount of very interesting and curious information. He points out the situation and character of Ur of the Chaldees, the fatherland of the Patriarch, a region described by Professor Rawlinson as being "amongst the most productive on the face of the earth, spontaneously producing some of the best gifts of God to man, and capable, under careful management, of being made one continuous garden." The religion of the people consisted in the worship of the great Moon-god, and the whole system of sidereal worship prevailed when Abram was born at Ur. In a hymn to the Moon-god, given in English from a French translation by M. Lenormant, he is invoked as the Lord of Rest, shewing that long before the time of Abram the seventh day was known as a day of rest, and was observed as a sacred day. It is plain, from the particulars given by Mr. Tomkins, that when Abram was born, Ur was a place of high civilization and refinement, and that its religion was a mixture of good and evil; and it was thence that Abram was called out by God about 2000 years before the birth of Christ, and departed to Kharran.

It was after leaving Kharran that Abram's nomad life commenced, but we cannot follow our author in his description of the social position, the riches, and the power of the patriarch, who was treated by the native princes and chieftains as their equal, if not their superior, nor in his recital of the patriarch's travels and wanderings, nor in the graphic account

he gives of the various countries in which Abram sojourned. Of Egypt and Canaan he gives a most interesting description, critically treating of the chronology, the races, the religions, the history and customs of the peoples, much of which is very valuable; but the greatest interest we think attaches to his description of ancient Elam. Twice only is this country mentioned in the Pentateuch, and we hear nothing further of it until we are told that Elamites were among those assembled in the upper chamber on the day of Pentecost.

The region of Elam lay on the east of the Tigris, but with the exception of the great expedition of Kedor-la'omer, mentioned in the 14th chapter of Genesis—which involved a march of upwards of 2000 miles—until recent Assyrian discoveries nothing was known of this, at one time the greatest power in the world, the conqueror of mighty Babylon, and the dominant power from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean.

The value and interest of this work are very great, and all that we desire in respect to it is that when it passes to a second edition—as it surely will—the author will append to it a good map of the region to which it relates, and supply references in the text to the illustrative plates—which are well executed.

OPIE AND HIS WORKS, being a Catalogue of 760 pictures, by John Opie, R.A., preceded by a Biographical Sketch, by John Jope Rogers, M.A., sometime Hon. Sec. and Treas. of the Arundel Society. London: Colnaghi & Co.

Mr. Rogers, who is a gentleman of considerable artistic knowledge and taste, has been for some years engaged in preparing a list of the paintings of the great Cornish artist, John Opie, and has now published a Catalogue, containing 760 pictures, of which 508, counting each head in a family group, are portraits. Portraiture was Opie's chief forte, in which few, if any, ever excelled him. It can scarcely be expected that this list is exhaustive. There are doubtless many pictures of which the localities are unknown, and whose owners may not have heard of Mr. Rogers' project. These, it is hoped, will be brought to light and hereafter published in a supplement to Mr. Rogers' useful work. It is well known among Opie's living relatives that from the time of his arrival in London, in 1781, he was in the habit of entering in a private ledger every picture which he painted; this ledger was used, many years ago, in a law suit, in which Opie's relatives were interested, and it has never since been recovered. It is needless to say that it would have been invaluable in the preparation of Mr. Rogers' Catalogue, and it is hoped that the announcement of its loss may lead to its recovery.

Mr. Rogers gives a description of each picture, stating its size and the date when painted. He gives, also, the name of the present possessor, and, if a picture has changed hands by public sale, in many instances he states the price it realized. From Opie's connection with Cornwall by

birth, and with Norfolk by marriage, the subjects of his portraits were, to a great extent, from the two western and the two eastern counties, but his labours were by no means limited to those districts. There are, however, in the Catalogue, very few portraits of Gloucestershire worthies. We have only noticed the following :—

Georgiana, third daughter of Lord George Henry Lennox, who, in 1789, married Henry Lord Apsley, who, in 1794, succeeded his father in the Earldom of Bathurst. The portrait was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1789, the year in which it was painted, and the year in which she was married. The picture is probably at Oakley Park, but it is not so noted.

There are, however, three of Opie's portraits in the possession of the Rev. Canon Girdleston, being family portraits, but, though located in Gloucestershire, the subjects of them were not of this county. One of them, that of Mr. Gay, of Norwich, the Canon's grandfather, is said to be "the most speaking likeness ever painted."

Mr. Rogers' biographical sketch of Opie is brief, but interesting. He was the son and grandson of common carpenters, in the remote village of St. Agnes, on the north coast of Cornwall. His father purposed to bring him up in his own craft ; the boy, however, at a very early age, showed a remarkable amount of native talent and artistic taste and skill. He is said to have mastered Euclid at 10 years of age, but by what means he acquired that knowledge is not stated. Of his early artistic talent there are many anecdotes. Whilst yet a boy he fell under the notice of Dr. Walcot (Peter Pinder) who brought him forward, and Opie painted some good portraits before he was 16 years of age. In 1781 he settled in London, and by the force of his natural genius, and great industry, raised himself from his humble position, not only to the highest eminence in his profession, but to no slight literary distinction. He was born in 1761, and died in London in 1807 at the early age of 46.

HENRY VII., PRINCE ARTHUR, AND CARDINAL MORTON, with a notice by T. MOZLEY, M.A., Rector of Plymtree. London : Printed for the Author, 1878.

THIS is one of the most sumptuous privately printed monographs which have issued from the press for a considerable time, and does great credit to Mr. Mozley's liberality, historic zeal, and artistic taste.

Devonshire is known to be very rich in its chancel screens, and writing of that at Plymtree Polwhele says : "It is very handsome and finely carved and gilded, but wants refreshing (from which process we trust it will be protected), and in the lower panels of it are various saints, painted something like illuminations in ancient popish MSS." Mr. Mozley states that there are 34 of these panels, and that the figures painted thereon are evidently of various dates, some of them very quaint indeed.[1] The church

1 A description of these figures is given by Mr. Mozley in an appendix.

was re-built about 1400, and, judging from the character of the paintings, he considers the latest of them must have been painted before 1525. The most striking and interesting of these paintings form a group representing the Adoration by the Magi, consisting of the Virgin and Child, and three other figures, representing the three kings; and it is this group which Mr. Mozley brings under notice in the work before us, in which the figures are beautifully re-produced, of full size, in chromo-lithography. He is of opinion that the three figures of the kings are represented by Cardinal Morton, Prince Arthur, and Henry vij., and he considers that the paintings were executed during the lifetime of the subjects of them, as, "though simple, they are full of character, and convey truth-like and distinct ideas."

The foremost figure, which would personate King Melchoir, represents a venerable-looking man, dressed in a long gown of a light yellowish brown, having loose sleeves and a cape, or hood, folding over the back. It wears a long full beard, and is shewn in the act of genuflecting whilst making the offering of a gold cup, which is held in the left hand, whilst with the right the cover is being lifted. The second is a youthful figure, clad in a boyish costume, having on the head a turban-like bonnet; whilst the third figure, which is the only regal one, Mr. Mozley considers as doubtless that of King Henry vij.

If the latter figure be correctly assigned it would be a key to the identification of the group. The youthful figure would more than probably represent Prince Authur, whilst the vessel in which he bears the frankincense is of so peculiar a form as to suggest Cardinal Morton. It is not like a thurible or censer, nor does it resemble a boat or ship, which was the form of vessel in which incense was kept before it was required for use, but it is shaped like a cask, or tun, set upon a tall stem, surmounted by a pyramidal cover, of an hexagonal shape, the outline of the ribs of which may be thought fancifully to resemble the letter M, forming the rebus of Cardinal Morton, and leading to the conclusion that the first figure represents the Cardinal himself.

The figure in advance is not only bearded, an unusual circumstance for an ecclesiastic of that period, but it is destitute of tonsure, and though the Cardinal was a great deal more of a politician than a priest, we should scarcely expect that he would have been represented without any indication of his exalted office, or even of his sacerdotal character. The effigy on his tomb at Canterbury is represented as shaven, but on the head is a mitre, which would conceal the tonsure. Moreover, it would seem strange that if the cask-like cup carried by the youth is intended for the rebus of the Cardinal, that it is not borne by himself; moreover, if the gown worn by the foremost figure be intended as the conventional dress of King Melchoir, we miss the crown, which usually is shown placed on the ground. These seem to us to be questions which require consideration before the figures can, with certainty, be appropriated as proposed by Mr. Mozley.

Mr. Mozley has given a pleasing sketch of the life of the Cardinal condensed chiefly from his biography in Dr. Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," and though we do not entertain so high an estimate of the Cardinal's character as is there stated, he was, nevertheless, one of the greatest men of his age, able and capable of drawing all men to him. If the painting now under notice can be established as representing him, and as any way approaching a likeness, it would be a great historical acquisition, for, unfortunately, no portrait of Morton is known to exist.

Mr. Mozley has, in an appendix, added an interesting account of Nicholas Monk, who was rector of Plymtree during the troubles of the seventeenth century, and had some share, through his brother George Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle, in bringing about the Restoration, soon after which Nicholas Monk was made Provost of Eton, and was subsequently consecrated to the Bishopric of Hereford, though he died without visiting his diocese.

There is also printed an interesting will of Mr. John Land, a London goldsmith and Devonshire worthy, born in Plymtree, and on his death in 1697, a great benefactor to that and various other parishes. He was the owner of the house, No. 1, Fleet Street, then and long after called "ye Marygold" which communicated with Temple Bar, and which he leased in 1676 to Robert Blanchard, the founder of Childs' Bank.

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE MARRIAGES, BAPTISMAL AND BURIAL REGISTERS OF ECCLESFIELD PARISH CHURCH, YORKSHIRE, from 1558 to 1619; also the Churchwardens' Accounts from 1530 to 1546. Annotated by ALFRED SCOTT GATTY. London: Bell and Sons. Sheffield: Leader and Sons. 1878.

The value of Parish Registers as genealogical evidence, after a very long period of neglect, is at length beginning to be recognised. This is shewn by the frequent appearance of a volume of these important records, so indispensable in tracing the descent of all classes of the community. Among these, few are of greater interest than the volume before us, relating to the extensive parish of Ecclesfield. It bears every evidence of having been very carefully edited, and the extracts from the Manor Rolls of the Manor of Ecclesfield, and extracts of wills with which the volume is annotated, and other memoranda, are of great interest and value, especially to the genealogists of the great northern shire. It is to be hoped that Mr. Gatty will receive that amount of encouragement which will induce him to continue the useful labour he has commenced and so ably executed, and that we shall in no long time see a second volume of this valuable register.

THUNER THE THUNDERER, carved on a Scandinavian Font, of about the year 1000 ; the first yet formed God-figure of our Scando-Gothic Forefathers. By Professor Dr. George Stephens, F.S.A., &c. London : Williams and Norgate. Copenhagen : Lynge, 1878.

MACBETH, EARL SIWARD AND DUNDEE; a contribution to Scottish History, from the Rune-finds of Scandinavia. By Professor George Stephens, F.S.A., &c. London : Williams and Norgate. Copenhagen : Lynge, 1876.

In the early ages of Christianity, when the art of reading was little known, painted, or sculptured, symbols were founed a great aid to oral instructions in impressing upon the mind what had been heard through the ears. Christian symbols, therefore, or figures and signs—we speak not here of creeds—from the earliest times(and which in the ages of persecution were often of a mystic or secret character known only to the initiated) have been in constant use. A very interesting discovery of an ancient sculptured font, of a date co-eval with the dawn of Christianity in Sweden, was made in 1813, when the old church of Ottrava, in the diocese of Skara, in West Gotland, was removed for the erection of a new building. The Font is now preserved in the National Museum at Stockholm, and Professor Stephens, having been furnished by the Rev. C. J. Ljungström, with full-sized tracings of the sculptures, supplied that gentleman with explanations of the figures, which he published, with small engravings, last year. Dr. Stephens, in the little work before us, gives a most quaint, interesting, and poetical description of this venerable relic. Assuming the character of a Christian priest, of the period of the font or "dooping stone," about to receive a child to baptism, before proceeding to the holy rite, for the edification of those present, takes the opportunity of explaining to them the symbolic figures on the font.

The font is circular, the circumference being divided into eight compartments, on each of which a subject is sculptured, viz :—

1. *The Fall.* Exhibits a serpent with an apple in his mouth.

2. *The Restoration.—Holy Baptism.* A priest uplifting a cross in his right hand and holding the book of the Gospels in his left, on which, and extending to the panel, is the text from S. Mark's Gospel, cap. xvi., v. 16.

3. *Confirmation.* The Bishop seated in his chair, his right hand held in the act of "blessing," and in his left a book.

4. *Heavenly Mysteries.* St. John the Divine above the Rainbow, holding the cross in his hand.

5. *Paradise restored.* Here is represented the Garden of Eden having a wattled gate, and within is seen the tree of life, whilst the four rivers are symbolized as flowing from it.

6. The Scandinavian god, *Thuner* or "*Thur*," a bearded figure, represented as the symbol of strength and courage, holding in his right hand the mystic hammer, and in his left his steer-oar, and surrounded by monsters which he has vanquished, thus encouraging the beholders to fight, with no less daring, against the world, the flesh, and the devil.

7. *The Vine.* The most ancient symbol of our Lord and His Church.

8. *The Crucifixion,* represented in a very conventional manner.

The sculptures on the font are, with great learning, compared by Dr. Stephens with various Runic inscriptions and other objects of antiquity, and his little work, which is admirably illustrated, will be a great acquisition to English readers who take an interest either in ancient Christian art or Runic literature.

The early history of Scotland is entirely unchronicled ; all documentary evidence has disappeared ; and with the exception of a few brief notices of the 10th and 11th centuries in the "Annals of the Four Masters" and in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" we have nothing to guide us but traditions and legendary tales. No period is more obscure than that of the history of Macbeth, whose legend has been immortalised by Shakespeare. According to this tradition Macbeth was defeated by Earl Siward, near Dundee, but the name of Dundee is almost equally clouded with the fact with which it is connected. The place is generally supposed to have derived its name from David, Earl of Huntingdon, who, in 1160, landed here on his return from the third crusade, and received the land from his brother, King William the Lion, as a thank-offering, and gave it the name of Donum Dei, which has been corrupted into Dundee. This is, of itself, unintelligible. The name was, doubtless, of Gaelic origin. Moreover, the name is mentioned by William of Ramesey, about the time of Earl David, as the scene of Macbeth's defeat, quite accidentally, without any allusion to Earl David or to its new name. The discovery in Sweeden of a Runic inscription, now brought under notice by Professor Stephens, and with great learning and ingenuity shewn by him to be of the date of 1055, clears up the difficulty. The Stone commemorates the deaths of five sons of one Guli ; and of his uncle Asur Sen, one of which sons was slain at Dundee ; and Dr. Stephens has shown that there was no other Dundee than that in Scotland, and no other battle at the date in question than the bloody defeat of Macbeth, or Macheda, by Earl Siward.

This is another instance of the great historical value of the Runic stones, and an admonition that the utmost care should be taken to preserve these ancient historical records.

COLBY, OF GREAT TORRINGTON, DEVON; some account of that family and its alliances for five generations, compiled by Frederic Thomas Colby, F.S.A. Printed for private circulation.

Privately printed Memoirs are always of interest and value, if they are honestly and conscientiously compiled, as appears to be the case in this instance. Dr. Colby claims no great antiquity for his paternal line, but he shews a high and very honourable descent, through his grandmother, Mary, daughter and heir of Anthony Coplestone, embracing the representation of many ancient distinguished families, through which alliance he claims nineteen quarterings; and he also claims the right to impale fifteen quarterings for his present wife, Louisa Marguerite Anne, eldest daughter of the Rev. George de Carteret Guille, Seigneur de St. George, in the Island of Gurnesey, and rector of Little Torrington, co. Devon. Pedigrees are given of the various families with which Dr. Colby is connected.

CALENDAR OF CHARTERS AND ROLLS, preserved in the Bodleian Library, edited by William H. Turner, under the direction of the Rev. H. O. Coxe, Bodley's Librarian. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1878.

The great riches of the Bodleian Library in valuable MSS., especially in the archives of the dissolved Monasteries, has long been well known to archæologists, and they will hail, with much satisfaction, the publication of a Calendar of the Charters and Rolls there preserved. Many of these Charters are of early date, some of them pre-Norman. Among the latter we notice the original Charter, dated 862 (referred to in the Declaration of Abbot Eldric, printed in Atkins' History of Gloucester, p. 70), by which Burghred, King of Mercia, confirmed to the Abbey of St. Peter, at Gloucester, the privileges which had been granted to the Abbey by his predecessors. Ethelred, Ethelbald, Offa, and Kennulph, Kings of Mercia, (appendix, ch. 20). Another MS., which we notice of interest to the inhabitants of Gloucester, is the original Grant of Arms to the city, in 30 Henry viii, made by Christopher Barker, Garter King of Arms, with the seals annexed. This is the grant alluded to on page 238 of the present volume. Of course there are many other documents specially interesting to persons in this district. As well as ancient charters, there are numerous deeds of modern dates. The abstracts are clearly, though briefly, made and in most instances supply all the information which is necessary as regards the transfer of the property to which they relate. The only thing which we see to regret is the omission of the names of the witnesses, which would have been of great interest and value. This was doubtless done to economise space.

THE DIRECTORIUM ANGLICANUM, 4th Edition, carefully revised, with numerous emendations. Edited by the REV. FREDERIC GEORGE LEE, D.C.L., F.S.A., Vicar of All Saints, Lambeth. London: John Hogg and Co. 1879.

THIS work is described on the title page as "being a Manual of Directions for the right Celebration of the Holy Communion, for Saying of Matins and Evensong, and for the performance of other rites of the Church, according to the ancient uses of the Church of England.

The first edition was edited by the late Rev. J. Purchas, of Brighton, and issued in 1858, and it is not a little remarkable, and no less encouraging to those who take an interest in ritual developement, that a costly book of this class should have run through three large editions, and that a fourth should be demanded, within twenty years. The entire ignorance of the clergy, with some few exceptions, during the last century, and early part of the present, of the principles and rationale of the Prayer Book, and of the offices they had to administer, could not be equalled in men of any other profession whatever, and when by the stirring of the life of the Church, the Clergy, and laity also, became aware of their want of knowledge upon the subject, a great demand arose for manuals of instruction, amongst the foremost of which was the Directorium Anglicanum, which demand appears still to exist.

We are not ourselves of the class vulgarly called "extreme ritualists," indeed we dislike much of the minutiæ with which Ritual is burdened, but we dislike in a far greater degree the slovenliness and irreverence, the latter not intentional, which obtains, and sometimes the mistaken, though well-meant, efforts at improvements, which, through misapprehension, sometimes become ludicrous.

The Book of Common Prayer is not a complete Directory of Public Worship. In an ancient Institution like the Church of England there must have arisen a traditionary usage, handed on for centuries, even from primitive times, for conducting the rites and ceremonies of the Church, and though in the 16th century some ceremonies were specifically abolished as tending to superstition, yet, generally, the ancient ritual was retained, with reference to which it is stated in the article on Ceremonies, prefixed to the 2nd Prayer Book of King Edward vj, that "people ought rather to have reverence unto them for their antiquity if they will declare themselves to be more studious of unity and concord than of innovations and newfangleness, which is always to be eschewed." This article is substantially reprinted in the preface to our present Prayer Book.

It is upon the principles laid down in the Book of Common Prayer, and authoritatively declared in the preface thereto, that Dr. Lees' able and learned work is based. Although we greatly dislike some of the tedious details of ritual which he recommends, and which we believe to have been chiefly the cause of offence, and more than anything else to have retarded

the restoration of a dignified and solemn ritual in the Church of England, his work ought to be carefully studied by all Churchmen who honestly desire to know the principles which should govern public worship in that Branch of the Church to which they belong.

The work is beautifully printed and "got up," and contains in an appendix many forms of prayer, &c., which, though not authorised, may be useful, and so also will be the Glossary of Ecclesiastical terms.

THE PLANT LORE AND GARDEN CRAFT OF SHAKESPEARE. By the Rev. Henry N. Ellacombe, M.A., of Oriel College, Oxford, Rector of Bitton, Gloucestershire. Printed for the Author.

This can scarcely be considered an antiquarian work, nor, on the other hand, can any subject connected with Shakespeare be said to be new. At all events we believe that the members of the "Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society" will be indulgent with us if, in concluding this volume, we bring specially under their notice this agreeable work by one of their own body. Mr. Ellacombe, like every other Englishman, is an admirer of the great English poet, and he is not only particularly fond of his garden, but is distinguished as a skilful horticulturist and botanist. He has, therefore, every qualification for dealing with the subject which he has chosen. He has divided his dissertation into two parts—Plant-lore and Garden-craft. In the first he has named, in alphabetical order every plant or flower mentioned, or even alluded to, in the works of his favourite author; and he has supplemented each subject with interesting notes of literary and poetical gossip, folk-lore, and mediæval legends, shewing very extensive reading, and with-all he has given valuable practical hints as to cultivation. The second part he has treated more generally. He considers that there is a large number of passages throughout the works of the great poet which shew that he was not only fond of flowers, but that he possessed a considerable amount of practical skill in the craft of gardening as it was practised in his day. Of the curious *knotted gardens* of the reign of Elizabeth, with all their rigid formality, their "close alleys," their "covert alleys," and "thick-pleached alleys," Mr. Ellacombe speaks with respect and admiration, and he condemns the present system of "bedding out," or massing of colours, preferring that very plant should stand distinct, contrasted in colour with its neighbour, thus enhancing the beauty of each. We quite agree with him, and love the old fashioned gardens, with their quaintly trimmed yews and boxes, which we yet occassionally find attached to some of our ancient gabled country mansions, with which they so pleasantly harmonise. Their well filled borders of hardy scented flowers, blooming in constant succession, are, according to our taste, far to be preferred to the gaudy scentless plants with which, in the present system of gardening, the parterres are too often filled.

Mr. Ellacombe closes his interesting work with a charming chapter[1] on the "Daisy," its delicate and chaste beauty, its definitions, its legends, and its poetry, quoting many authors in its praise, beginning with an extract from Chaucer, whose admiration for this pretty little flower was unbounded. With this we close our notice and the present volume.

Of all the floures in the mede,
Then love I most those floures white and redde ;
Such as men callen Daisies in our town.
To them I have so great affection,
As I said erst when comen in the Maye,
That in my bedde there dawneth me no daie
That I n'am up and walking in the mede
To see this floure against the sunné sprede,
When it upriseth early by the morrow
That blessed sight softeneth all my sorrow.
So glad am I, when that I have presence
Of it, to done it all reverence—
As she that is of all floures the floure,
Fulfilled of all virtue and honoure ;
And ever ylike fair and fresh of hue,
And ever I love it, and ever ylike new,
And ever shall, till that mine heart die
All swear I not, of this I will not lye.
There loved no wight hotter in his life,
And when that it is eve, I run blithe,
As soon as ever the sun gaineth west
To see this floure, how it will go to rest.
For fear of night, so hateth she darkness,
Her cheer is plainly spread in the brightness
Of the sunne, for there it will unclose ;
Alas, that I ne had English rhyme or prose
Suffisaunt this floure to praise aright.

1 This formed a paper read by Mr. Ellacombe before the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club in 1874, and is here re-printed with slight alterations.

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